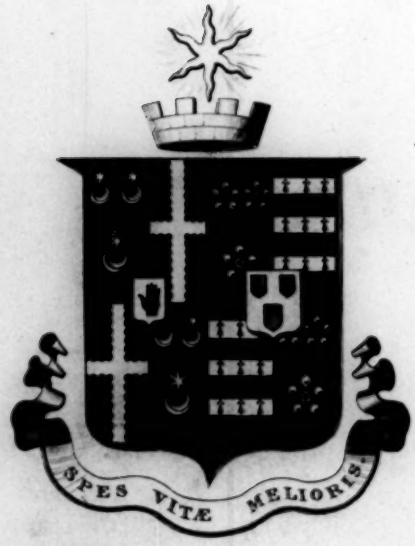

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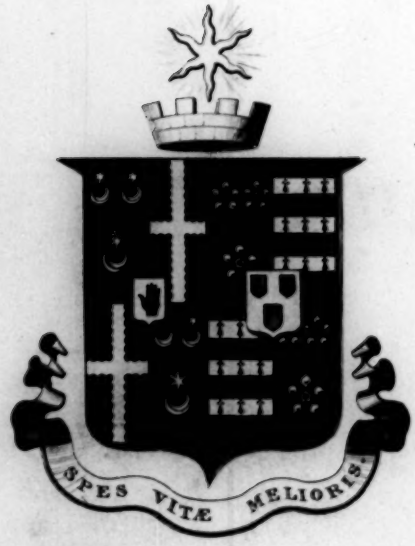

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMY,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,

And an Eighth in Quarto, containing Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins, illuſtrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND L. WHITE, DUBLIN.

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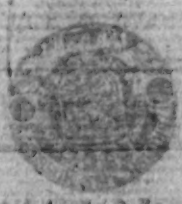

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Continuation of the Journey into Elis. Xenophon at Scillus.

XENOPHON had a houſe at Scillus, a ſmall town, ſituated at the diſtance of twenty ſtadia from Olympia[a] *. The troubles of Peloponneſus had once obliged him to leave it[b], and go to reſide at Corinth, where I found him on my arrival in Greece †. As ſoon as theſe were

[a] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 350.
* About three quarters of a league.
[b] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 53.
† See chap. ix. of this work.

appeaſed he returned to Scillus*; and, on the day after the games, we viſited him, in company with his ſon Diodorus, who had never quitted us during the whole time that theſe had laſted.

The eſtate which Xenophon poſſeſſed here was conſiderable. He was indebted for one part of it to the generoſity of the Lacedæmonians[c], and he had purchaſed the other to conſecrate it to Diana, and thus acquit himſelf of a vow which he had made when returning from Perſia. He reſerved the tenth of its produce for the maintenance of a temple which he had erected to that goddeſs, and to defray the expence of a ſumptuous ſacrifice which he offered every year[d].

Near the temple is an orchard which produces various kinds of fruits. The Selinus, a ſmall river abounding with fiſh, ſlowly rolls its limpid waters at the foot of a fertile hill, and through meadows in which the animals deſtined to ſacrifice feed undiſturbed. Within and without the ſacred grounds are woods diſtributed in the plain or on the mountains, which are the retreats of roebucks, ſtags, and wild boars[e].

In this delightful abode was it that Xenophon

* See note at the end of the volume.

[c] Pauſan. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 388. Dinarch. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 52.

[d] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 350.

[e] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 5, cap. 6, p. 388.

compoſed the greater part of his works[f], and for a number of years dedicated his days to the ſtudy of philoſophy, to benevolence, agriculture, the chace, and thoſe exerciſes which beſt maintain the freedom of the mind, and preſerve the health of the body. His firſt care was to procure us the amuſements ſuitable to our age, and thoſe which the country offers to a more advanced period of life. He ſhewed us his horſes, his plantations, and gave us a particular account of his houſehold œconomy; and we every where perceived that he had reduced to practice the precepts which he has given in his different works[g]. At other times he adviſed us to take the diverſion of the chace, which he never ceaſed to recommend to young perſons as the exerciſe moſt proper to accuſtom them early to the labours and fatigues of war[h].

His ſon Diodorus frequently took us with him to catch quails, partridges, and various other kinds of birds[i]. We carried with us ſome of the ſame ſpecies, which we took out of their cages, and faſtened in the middle of the nets; and theſe, by their chirping and cries, drew others of the ſame kind into the ſnare, where they loſt either their lives or their liberty[k].

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[f] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605. Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 52.
[g] Xenoph. p. 818 et 932.
[h] Id. de Venat. p. 974 et 995.
[i] Id. Memorab. p. 784.
[k] Ariſtoph. in. Av. v. 1083. Schol. ibid.

Theſe ſports were introductory to others more animated and more varied. Diodorus had ſeveral packs of hounds, one trained to courſe the hare, another the ſtag, and a third, of the Laconian or Locrian breed, the wild boar[l]. He knew all the dogs of every pack by their names*, and was acquainted with all their defects and good qualities[m]. No perſon better underſtood the tactics of this ſpecies of war, and he converſed on the ſubject with as much accuracy as his father had written on it[n]. The following is the manner in which the hare was hunted.

Nets of different ſizes were placed in the paths and ſecret paſſages by which the animal might eſcape[o]. We went out to the chace in a light dreſs, and with ſtaves in our hands[p]. The huntſman let looſe one of the dogs, and as ſoon as he perceived he had taken the ſcent, uncoupled the others, and preſently the hare was rouſed. At this moment every object concurred to intereſt and animate us; the cries of the dogs, the ſhouts of the huntſmen who encouraged them[q], and the

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[l] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991.

* The ancients were careful to give to their dogs names that were very ſhort, and commonly conſiſting of two ſyllables; ſuch as Thymos, Lochos, Phylax, Phonex, Bremon, Pſyche, Hebe, &c. (Xenoph. de Venat. p. 987.)

[m] Id. ibid. p. 987 et 996.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 972.

[o] Id. ibid. p. 983.

[p] Id. ibid. p. 984.

[q] Id. ibid. p. 985.

windings and ſtratagems of the hare, which we ſaw in the twinkling of an eye croſs the plains and hills, leap ditches, plunge down precipices, appear and diſappear ſeveral times, and at length end his career by entangling himſelf in one of the nets placed to intercept him. A man ſtationed near the ſpot ſeized the prey, and held it up to the huntſmen, to whom he ſignified their victory both by his ſhouts and geſtures[r]. In the joy of triumph we began a new chace, and hunted ſeveral more hares in the courſe of the day[s], ſome of which eſcaped us by ſwimming over the river Selinus[t].

We ſoon after engaged in a more noiſy and dangerous kind of hunting, in conſequence of the ſacrifice which Xenophon offered every year to Diana[u]. During the days which he dedicated to this feſtivity, all his neighbours, both men and women, repaired to Scillus. He welcomed his friends to his own houſe[x]: the treaſures of the temple were expended to provide for the remainder of the gueſts[y]. They were furniſhed with wine, bread, meal, fruits, and a part of the victims which were ſacrificed. Among them likewiſe were diſtributed the wild boars, ſtags, and deer, which

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[r] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 984.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 986.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 980.
[u] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 350.
[x] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 52.
[y] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 350.

had been killed in hunting by the youth of the neighbouring country, who, to participate in the various ſports, had reſorted to Scillus ſome days before the feſtival[z].

For the chace of the wild boar we were provided with ſpears, javelins, and large nets. The foot-ſteps of the animal newly impreſſed on the ground, the mark of his teeth in the bark of trees, and other indications of the way that he had taken, led us to a very thick wood[a]. We let looſe a Laconian dog, who followed the traces, and quickly arrived at the haunt, of the beaſt. He immediately opened and informed us of the diſcovery. We directly drew him off, prepared nets to prevent the eſcape of the animal, and took our ſeveral poſts. The boar endeavoured to break out on my ſide. Far from entangling himſelf in the net, he ſtopped, and for ſome minutes ſuſtained the charge of the whole pack, who made the foreſt reſound with their barking, and that of the hunters, who aſſailed him with darts and ſtones. A moment after he ruſhed furiouſly on Moſchion, who waited for him with firmneſs, intending to pierce him; but the ſpear, glancing on the ſhoulder of the animal, ſlipped from the hands of the hunter, who immediately had recourſe to the expedient of falling flat with his face to the ground[b].

[z] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 350.
[a] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 992.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 993.

I imagined his deſtruction inevitable. The boar, finding no hold by which he could raiſe him, trampled him under his feet, when he perceived Diodorus, who had haſtened to the aſſiſtance of his companion. Immediately he flew on this new enemy, who, more dexterous or more fortunate than Moſchion, pierced him with his ſpear at the joint of the ſhoulder. We now witneſſed a terrifying proof of the ferocity of this animal. The boar, though mortally wounded, continued to ruſh furiouſly on Diodorus, and ſtaked himſelf on the ſpear quite up to the guard[c]. Several of our dogs were killed or wounded in this action, though fewer than in a ſecond, in which the boar maintained the fight during a whole day. Other wild boars, chaſed by dogs, fell into pitfalls, which had been covered with branches of trees[d].

On the following days ſtags were killed in the ſame manner[e]; we wounded ſeveral others, and our dogs fatigued them ſo much, that they would ſtand ſtill within reach of our javelins, and throw themſelves ſometimes into ponds, and ſometimes into the ſea[f].

During the whole time that theſe huntings

[c] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 993.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 994.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 990.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 991.

laſted, the converſation turned only on the ſports in which we were engaged. Our companions deſcribed to us the various methods employed in different countries to take lions, panthers, bears, and other wild beaſts. We were told, that in ſome places they mix poiſon with the ſtagnant waters and the food with which theſe creatures aſſuage their hunger and thirſt. In others, horſemen form a circle during the night round the animal, and attack him at the break of day, often at the riſk of their lives. In others they dig a wide and deep pit, leaving only a kind of pillar of earth, to which they faſten a ſhe-goat, and place around it an impenetrable palliſade. The wild beaſt, brought thither by the cries of the goat, leaps the barrier, and falls into the pit, from which he is unable to extricate himſelf[g].

We were likewiſe told, that in a certain diſtrict of Thrace, a kind of partnerſhip has been formed between the hawks and the inhabitants; that the former purſue the ſmall birds, and force them to alight on the ground, where the latter kill them with ſticks, or take them in nets, and divide their prey with their aſſociates[h]. I doubt the fact; but were it true, it would not be the firſt

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[g] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 995.

[h] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9, cap. 36, t. i. p. 940. Ælian. de Nat. Anim. lib. 2, cap. 42.

time that irreconcilable enemies have united to deprive the weak of all reſource.

As nothing is ſo pleaſing and inſtructive as to ſtudy a great man in his retirement, we paſſed a part of the day in converſing with Xenophon; in liſtening to him, interrogating him, and following him through every circumſtance of his private life. We found in his converſation all that mildneſs and elegance which are ſo conſpicuous in his writings. He poſſeſſed at once the courage neceſſary for affairs of moment, and that requiſite for things of leſſer conſequence, a much more rare and more neceſſary virtue. The former was in him an unſhaken fortitude, and the latter an invincible patience.

Some years before, his reſolution had been put to the ſevereſt proof that a heart of ſenſibility can experience. Gryllus, his eldeſt ſon, who ſerved in the Athenian cavalry, was killed at the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death was brought to Xenophon, at the moment when he was ſacrificing to Diana, ſurrounded by his friends and domeſtics. In the midſt of the ceremonies, a confuſed and plaintive murmur was heard, and the courier approached. The Thebans, ſaid he, have conquered, and Gryllus——. A flood of tears prevented him from proceeding. How! is he dead? ſaid the unhappy father, taking the crown he wore from his brow. After having performed

the braveſt actions, and lamented by the whole army, replied the meſſenger. At theſe words Xenophon reſumed his crown, and finiſhed his ſacrifice[i]. I one day ſaid ſomething to him concerning his loſs; but he only anſwered, Alas! I knew that he was mortal[k]; and immediately turned the diſcourſe to ſome other ſubject.

On another occaſion we enquired of him in what manner he firſt became acquainted with Socrates. I was very young, ſaid he, when I met him in an extremely narrow ſtreet in Athens. He ſtopped the way with his ſtaff, and aſked me where the neceſſaries of life were to be bought. I replied, In the market. But where, continued he, may any one learn to become a good and virtuous man? Perceiving that I heſitated, he added, Follow me, and I will teach you[l]. I followed him, and from that time never left him till I went into the army of Cyrus. On my return, I learned that the Athenians had put to death the moſt juſt of men. I had no other conſolation but to tranſmit in my writings the proofs of his innocence to the nations of Greece, and perhaps alſo to poſterity. At preſent I know no greater pleaſure than recalling to mind, and meditating on his virtues.

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[i] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 54. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 3. Stob. Serm. 7, p. 90.

[k] Val. Max. lib. 5, cap. 10. extern. No. 2.

[l] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 48.

As we all ſincerely participated in the lively and affectionate eſteem which he expreſſed for this great man, Xenophon afterwards entered into a circumſtantial account of the ſyſtem of life which Socrates had embraced, and explained to us his doctrine, ſuch as it really was, confined entirely to morals [m], without any mixture of foreign dogmas, or thoſe phyſical and metaphyſical diſcuſſions which Plato has attributed to his maſter [n]. How was it poſſible that I ſhould blame Plato, for whom I ſhall ever preſerve the moſt profound veneration? Yet muſt it be confeſſed, that the real opinions of Socrates are leſs to be ſtudied in his dialogues than in thoſe of Xenophon. In the courſe of this work I ſhall endeavour to explain what theſe opinions were, in which attempt I ſhall be principally indebted to the information I derived from the converſations which I had with Xenophon at Scillus.

With a mind adorned with every kind of uſeful knowledge, and long habituated to reflection, Xenophon wrote to render men better by his inſtructions; and ſo great was his love of truth, that he did not treat the ſubject of politics till he had carefully inveſtigated the nature of govern-

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[m] Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. lib. 1, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 848.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 847. Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 2, p. 508. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3, § 35. Bruck. Hiſtor. Philoſ. t. i. p. 11 et 697. Moſhem. in Cudw. t. i. p. 241 et 600.

ments; nor publiſh his hiſtories, but to relate facts, to the greater part of which he had been an eye-witneſs. He did not write on the military art, until after he had both ſerved and commanded with the greateſt diſtinction; nor on morals, till he had practiſed the leſſons which he gave to others.

I have known few philoſophers ſo virtuous, and few men ſo amiable. With what a graceful and obliging affability did he reply to all our queſtions. Diodorus, Philotas, and myſelf, were one day walking on the banks of the Selinus, and had entered into a warm diſpute on the tyranny of the paſſions. They affirmed, that love itſelf could not enſlave us againſt our will. I maintained the contrary. Xenophon happened to join the company, and we immediately agreed to refer the queſtion to his deciſion; upon which he related to us the following hiſtory.

After the battle which the great Cyrus gained againſt the Aſſyrians, the plunder was divided, and a ſuperb tent, and a female captive who ſurpaſſed all the others in beauty, reſerved for that prince. This captive was Panthea, queen of Suſiana*. Abradates her huſband was then in Bactriana, whither he had gone to bring up ſome ſuccours to the Aſſyrian army.

Cyrus refuſed to ſee the princeſs, and confided

* Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 114.

her to the cuſtody of a young Median nobleman, named Araſpes, who had been educated with him. Araſpes deſcribed the humiliating ſituation in which ſhe was found. She was, ſaid he, in her tent, ſitting on the ground, ſurrounded by her women, in the habit of a ſlave, with her head bowed down and covered with a veil. We deſired her to ariſe, and all her attendants roſe at the ſame time. One of us wiſhing to comfort her, ſaid to her: We know that your huſband deſerved your love by his illuſtrious qualities; but Cyrus, to whom you are deſtined, is the moſt accompliſhed prince of the Eaſt [p]. At theſe words ſhe tore her veil, and her ſighs and tears, and the cries of her women, painted in the livelieſt manner her diſtreſsful ſituation. We had then more time to obſerve her, and are enabled to aſſure you, that Aſia has never produced a beauty comparable to her: but of this you will ſoon judge for yourſelf.

No, ſaid Cyrus, what you have ſaid is an additional motive why I ſhould avoid her. Were I to ſee her once, I ſhould wiſh to ſee her again, and ſhould be in danger of forgetting in her company the care of my fame and future conqueſts. And can you really believe, then, replied the young Median, that beauty exerciſes her power with ſo

[p] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 115.

imperious a ſway, as to force us to neglect our duty in deſpite of ourſelves? Why then does ſhe not equally tyrannize over all hearts? Why do we not ſigh with inceſtuous paſſion for thoſe from whom we have received, or to whom we have given life? Becauſe the laws prohibit us. The laws therefore are more powerful than love. But were they to command us to be inſenſible to hunger and thirſt, to cold and heat, they would be univerſally diſobeyed. Nature therefore is more powerful than the laws. Love in like manner would be irreſiſtible if it were invincible in its own nature. We therefore do not love but when our will permits us to love[q].

If we could impoſe on ourſelves this yoke at will, replied Cyrus, at will might we throw it off: yet have I ſeen lovers ſhed tears of anguiſh at the loſs of their liberty, and vainly ſhake thoſe chains which they were unable either to break or to ſupport.

Theſe, replied the young man, were feeble and inert minds, who imputed to the power of love what was merely the conſequence of their own weakneſs: generous ſouls are ever able to ſubject their paſſions to their duty.

Araſpes, Araſpes, ſaid Cyrus, as he left him, beware how you ſee the princeſs too often[r].

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[q] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 116.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 117.

To the beauties of her perſon, Panthea added qualities which her ſorrows and misfortunes rendered ſtill more attractive. Araſpes thought it his duty to beſtow on her every care and attention, and, without perceiving it, continually increaſed his aſſiduity towards her; and as ſhe could not but return his kindneſs by civilities, he miſtook the emotions of gratitude for the wiſh to pleaſe[s], and ſoon conceived for her ſo ungovernable a paſſion, that he could no longer refrain from declaring it. She rejected without heſitation the offer of his love, but did not inform Cyrus of what had paſſed, till Araſpes threatened to proceed to the laſt extremities[t].

Cyrus then cauſed it to be ſignified to his favourite, that he expected he ſhould only employ the methods of perſuaſion, and by no means have recourſe to violence. This intimation was a thunder ſtroke to Araſpes. He bluſhed at the remembrance of his conduct; and the fear of having diſpleaſed his maſter ſo overwhelmed him with ſhame and grief, that Cyrus, moved at his ſituation, ſent for him into his preſence. Why, ſaid he, when he came, do you fear to approach me? I know too well that love at once makes his ſport of the wiſdom of men and the power of the

[s] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 5, p. 117.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 153.

gods! I myſelf am only able by avoiding him to eſcape his tyranny. I cannot impute to you a crime of which I was the firſt occaſion; for I, by confiding the princeſs to your care, expoſed you to a danger ſuperior to your ſtrength. Oh, my ſovereign! exclaimed the young Median, while my enemies triumph over me, while my friends in conſternation adviſe me to ſhun your anger, while all around me conſpire to complete my ruin, do you offer me conſolation? Oh, Cyrus! you are ever the ſame! ever are you indulgent to frailties in which you do not participate; and you pardon becauſe you know mankind.

Let us profit, replied Cyrus, by circumſtances. I wiſh to be informed of the forces and projects of my enemies. Depart for their camp; your pretended flight will have all the appearance of a real diſgrace, and you will obtain their confidence. I fly to obey your commands, replied Araſpes; too happy to expiate my fault by ſo trivial a ſervice. But can you, anſwered Cyrus, bear to abſent yourſelf from the beautiful Panthea[u]? I confeſs, replied the young Median, that my heart is rent with the moſt cruel pangs; and I now feel but too forcibly that we have within us two ſouls, by one of which we are inceſſantly urged to evil, while the other inclines us to good. I have

[u] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 6, p. 154.

hitherto been under the dominion of the former; but, ſtrengthened by your aſſiſtance, the latter ſhall ſoon triumph over its rival [x]. Araſpes, having then received ſecret inſtructions, departed for the army of the Aſſyrians.

Xenophon, having proceeded thus far in his narrative, remained ſilent; at which we appeared ſurpriſed. Is not the queſtion then determined? ſaid he. Yes, replied Philotas; but the ſtory is not concluded, and that now engages our attention much more than the queſtion. Xenophon ſmiled, and continued as follows:

Panthea having been informed of the departure of Araſpes, cauſed it to be ſignified to Cyrus, that ſhe was able to procure him a more faithful, and perhaps a more uſeful friend than that young favourite. The friend ſhe meant was her huſband Abradates, whom ſhe propoſed to detach from the ſervice of the king of Aſſyria, with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. Cyrus having conſented to this negotiation, Abradates arrived in the camp of the Perſians, at the head of two thouſand horſe; and Cyrus immediately cauſed him to be conducted to the apartment of Panthea [y], who, with that confuſion of ideas and feelings which a felicity long denied and almoſt unexpected occaſions, related to him the hiſtory of her captivity,

[x] Xenoph. Inſt. Cyr. lib. 6, p. 154.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 155.

her ſufferings, the attempts of Araſpes, and the generoſity of Cyrus. Her huſband, impatient to expreſs his gratitude, ran inſtantly to the Perſian prince, and graſping his hand, exclaimed: Oh, Cyrus! for all that I owe you, I can only offer my friendſhip, my ſervices, and my ſoldiers; but be well aſſured, whatever may be your deſigns, Abradates will always exert his utmoſt powers to ſupport and render them ſucceſsful. Cyrus received his offers with tranſport, and they immediately concerted together the diſpoſitions of the approaching battle [z].

The troops of the Aſſyrians, Lydians, and a great part of Aſia, were within ſight of the army of Cyrus. Abradates was appointed to attack the formidable phalanx of the Egyptians. This dangerous poſt had been aſſigned him by lot: he had himſelf ſolicited it, but the other generals had at firſt refuſed to reſign it to him [a].

When he was about to mount his chariot, Panthea came to preſent him with the arms which ſhe had privately cauſed to be made, and on which were ſeen the jewels that had ſometimes adorned her perſon. "You have then ſacrificed to me even your ornaments," ſaid the prince affectionately. "Alas!" replied ſhe, "I wiſh no other ornament, than that you ſhould this day appear to

[z] Xenoph. Inſt. Cyr. lib. 6, p. 155.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 168.

all beholders as you inceſſantly appear to myſelf." Thus ſaying, ſhe put on him his reſplendent armour, while her eyes involuntarily ſhed tears, which ſhe anxiouſly endeavoured to conceal [b].

When ſhe ſaw him take the reins, ſhe requeſted the attendants to ſtep aſide, and thus addreſſed him. "If ever a wife loved her huſband a thouſand times more than herſelf, that wife is doubtleſs yours; and my conduct has ſurely been a better proof of this than my words: yet, notwithſtanding the ardour of my paſſion, I would rather chooſe, and I ſwear by the tender bonds by which we are united, I would rather chooſe to expire with you in the boſom of honour, than to live with a huſband in whoſe ſhame I muſt participate. Remember the obligations we have to Cyrus; remember that I was a captive, and that he gave me liberty; that I was expoſed to inſult, and that he defended me; remember, in fine, that I have deprived him of his friend; and that, relying on my word, he has believed that he ſhall find one more brave, and doubtleſs more faithful, in my beloved Abradates [c]."

The prince, delighted to hear theſe words, ſtretched forth his hand on the head of his ſpouſe, and lifting his eyes to heaven: "Gracious gods!" cried he, "grant that I may this day ſhew myſelf worthy

[b] Xenoph. Inſt. lib. 6, p. 169.
[c] Id. ibid.

to be the friend of Cyrus; and, above all, worthy to be the huſband of Panthea." Immediately he leaped into his chariot, to which the anxious princeſs had only time to apply her trembling lips. In the agitation of her mind ſhe followed him with haſty ſteps along the plain, till Abradates perceiving her, conjured her to retire, and arm herſelf with fortitude. Her eunuchs and women then approached, and withdrew her from the eyes of the multitude, which, conſtantly fixed on her, had been unable to pay the leaſt attention either to the beauty of Abradates, or the magnificence of his dreſs and armour [d].

The battle was fought near the river Pactolus: the army of Crœſus was entirely defeated, the vaſt empire of the Lydians overturned in a moment, and that of the Perſians raiſed on its ruins.

The day following the victory, Cyrus, aſtoniſhed that he had not ſeen Abradates, enquired after him with ſolicitude [e], and was informed by one of his officers, that, deſerted almoſt in the beginning of the action by a part of his troops, he had nevertheleſs attacked the Egyptian phalanx with the greateſt bravery; that he had been killed, after having ſeen all his friends fall around him; and that Panthea had cauſed his body to be conveyed

[d] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 6, p. 170.
[e] Id. lib. 7, p. 184.

to the banks of the Pactolus, and was then employed in erecting a tomb.

Cyrus, overwhelmed with grief, immediately gave orders that the neceſſary preparatives for the funeral of the hero ſhould be conveyed to that place. He himſelf preceded them; and, when he arrived, beheld the unhappy Panthea ſeated on the ground, near the bloody corpſe of her huſband. His eyes overflowed with tears. He attempted to graſp that hand which had fought for him: it remained in his own, for the keen blade had ſeparated it from the body in the bloody conflict. The emotion of Cyrus redoubled, and Panthea uttered the moſt piercing cries. She again took the hand; and, after having covered it with a flood of tears and ardent kiſſes, endeavoured to rejoin it to the arm; and at length pronounced theſe words, which expired on her lips: "Alas! Cyrus, you ſee the calamity by which I am perſecuted, and why do you wiſh to be a witneſs to it? For me, for you, has he ſacrificed his life. Wretch that I was, I wiſhed he ſhould merit your eſteem; and, too obedient to my counſel, he regarded leſs his own ſafety than your ſervice! He has died glorioufly, I know; but he is dead, and I yet live."

Cyrus, after having wept a while in ſilence, replied: "Victory has crowned his life, and his

end could not be more glorious. Accept theſe ornaments for his tomb, and theſe victims to be immolated in his honour. I will take care to erect a monument which ſhall eternize his memory. You alſo I will never forſake nor forget; I too much reſpect your virtues and your misfortunes: only point out to me the place to which you would wiſh to be conducted."

Panthea having aſſured him that of this he ſhould ſoon be informed, and Cyrus having taken his leave, commanded her eunuchs to retire, and ſent for a woman who had attended her from her earlieſt years, to whom ſhe thus ſpoke: "Be careful, as ſoon as my eyes are cloſed, to cover my body, and that of my huſband, with the ſame veil." The ſlave endeavoured to divert her from her purpoſe by her entreaties; but as theſe only ſerved to increaſe her too juſt affliction, ſhe ſat down, ſhedding a flood of tears, by the ſide of her miſtreſs. Panthea then ſeized a poniard, and plunged it into her breaſt; and, when expiring, ſtill poſſeſſed ſufficient ſtrength to lay her head on the boſom of her huſband [f].

Her women and all her attendants inſtantly uttered the moſt piercing cries of grief and deſpair. Three of her eunuchs ſacrificed them-

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[f] Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 185.

ſelves to the manes of their miſtreſs; and Cyrus, who had haſtened to the place at the firſt report of this new calamity, again wept the amiable pair, and cauſed a tomb to be erected for them, in which their aſhes were mingled [z].

[z] Xenoph. Inſt. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 186.

CHAP. XL.

Tour of Meſſenia *.

WE left Scillus, and, after having croſſed Triphylia, arrived on the banks of the Neda, which ſeparates Elis from Meſſenia [h].

As we intended to make the tour of the coaſts of the latter province, we embarked at the port of Cypariſſia, and the next day landed at Pylos, ſituated under Mount Ægaleus [i]. Veſſels find a ſafe retreat in the road near this town, which is almoſt entirely ſhut in by the iſland Sphacteria [k]. The environs preſent on all ſides only woods, ſteep rocks, a barren ſoil, and an undiſturbed ſolitude [l]. The Lacedæmonians, who were in poſſeſſion of Meſſenia during the Peloponneſian war, had entirely neglected Pylos; but the Athenians, having made themſelves maſters of it, immediately fortified it, and repulſed both by ſea and land the

* See map of Meſſenia.

[h] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 20, p. 327. Strab. lib. 8, p. 348.

[i] Strab. lib. 8, p. 359.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 113.

[l] Thucyd. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 36, p. 372.

troops of Lacedæmon and her allies. From that time this city, like all other places in which men have maſſacred each other, has excited the curioſity of travellers[m].

We were ſhewn a ſtatue of Victory, which had been left here by the Athenians[n]; and were told that the ſage Neſtor had reigned over this country. It was in vain for us to reply that, according to Homer, he reigned in Triphylia[o]; we received no other anſwer, than by being ſhewn the houſe of that prince, his portrait, and the cave in which he kept his oxen[p]. We were ſtill diſpoſed to diſpute the fact, but were ſoon convinced that both nations and individuals, proud of their claims to an illuſtrious origin, are ſeldom pleaſed that their title to it ſhould be doubted.

Continuing to ſail along the coaſt to the bottom of the gulf of Meſſenia, we ſaw at Mothone * a well, the water of which, naturally impregnated with particles of pitch, has the ſmell and colour of balm of Cyzicus[q]. At Colonides we remarked that the inhabitants, though they are ſtrangers both to the manners and language of the Athenians, pretend to be deſcended from that people,

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[m] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 36, p. 372.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Strab. lib. 8, p. 350.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 36, p. 371.
* Now *Modon*.
[q] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 35, p. 369.

becauſe there is at Athens an eminence named Colonos[r]. Farther on we ſaw a temple of Apollo, to which ſick perſons come to ſeek, and believe that they find, a cure[s]. Still farther we came to the city of Corone *, lately built by order of Epaminondas[t]; and, laſtly, we arrived at the mouth of the river Pamiſus, which we entered with all our ſails ſet, as ſhips may proceed up it to the diſtance of ten ſtadia[u].

This river is the largeſt in Peloponneſus, though from its ſource to the ſea the diſtance is not more than one hundred ſtadia[x] †. Its courſe is ſhort, but it completes it with diſtinction. It ſuggeſts the idea of a ſhort and happy life. Its pure waters ſeem only to flow for the benefit of every object it approaches. The beſt ſea-fiſh delight in it in all ſeaſons, and at the return of ſpring haſten to aſcend it to depoſit their ſpawn[y].

While we were landing we ſaw ſeveral veſſels, which appeared to us of a foreign conſtruction, and which made way both with ſails and oars. They came up cloſe to the ſhore, and imme-

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[r] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 34, p. 365.
[s] Id. Ibid.
* Now *Coron.*
[t] Pauſan. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 363.
[x] Strab. lib. 8, p. 361.
† About three leagues and three quarters.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 34, p. 363.

diately a number of perſons, of all ages and both ſexes, leaped from them on the beach, threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, and exclaimed: "A thouſand and a thouſand times bleſſed be the day that reſtores thee to our wiſhes; we water thee with our tears, O beloved land, which our fathers poſſeſſed! O ſacred earth, which containeſt the aſhes of our fathers!" I approached an aged man, named Xenocles, who appeared to be the leader of this multitude, and aſked him who they were, and whence they came. You behold, replied he, the deſcendants of thoſe Meſſenians whom the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians formerly forced to abandon their country, and who, under the conduct of my father Comon, ſought refuge in the extremities of Libya, in a country which has no intercourſe with the nations of Greece. We were long ignorant that Epaminondas had, about fifteen years ſince, reſtored liberty to Meſſenia, and recalled its ancient inhabitants[z]. When we were informed of it, our return was prevented by inſurmountable obſtacles; and afterwards the death of Epaminondas occaſioned a ſtill longer delay, but we are at length arrived to enjoy his benefactions.

We joined theſe ſtrangers, and, after having traverſed fertile plains, arrived at Meſſene, ſituated,

[z] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 26, p. 342.

like Corinth, at the foot of a mountain, and become, like that city, one of the bulwarks of Peloponneſus [a].

The walls of Meſſene, built of hewn ſtone, crowned with battlements, and flanked with towers *, are ſtronger and higher than thoſe of Byzantium, Rhodes, and the other cities of Greece [b]. They include within their circuit Mount Ithome. Within the city we found a large public ſquare or forum, ornamented with temples, ſtatues, and a plentiful fountain. On every ſide we beheld beautiful edifices; and from the firſt eſſays we may eaſily judge of the magnificence which Meſſene will hereafter diſplay [c].

The new inhabitants were received with the utmoſt reſpect, and the moſt eager welcome. The next day they went to offer up their homage in the temple of Jupiter, which ſtands on the ſummit of the mountain [d], and in the middle of a citadel that unites the ſtrength ſupplied by art to the advantages of ſituation.

The mountain is one of the loftieſt [e], and the

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[a] Polyb. lib. 7, p. 505. Strab. lib. 8, p. 361.

* Thirty-eight of theſe towers were ſtill remaining fifty years ago; the Abbe Fourmont ſaw them (Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hiſt. p. 355).

[b] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 31, p. 356.

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hiſt. p. 355.

[d] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 33, p. 361.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9, p. 301.

temple one of the moſt ancient in Peloponneſus[f]. There it was, as tradition relates, that the nymphs nurtured Jupiter in his infancy. The ſtatue of that god, the work of Ageladas, is depoſited in the houſe of a prieſt, who only exerciſes the functions of the prieſthood, to which he is appointed by the way of election[g], during the ſpace of one year. The prieſt at the time we were there was named Celenus; he had paſſed the greater part of his life in Sicily.

On that ſame day was celebrated an annual feſtival in honour of Jupiter, which aſſembles the people of the neighbouring provinces. The ſides of the mountain were covered with men and women, who eagerly preſſed to gain the ſummit. We were preſent at the ſacred ceremonies, and at the muſical competitions, which had been inſtituted for a long ſeries of ages[h]. The joy of the Meſſenians of Libya preſented an affecting ſcene, the intereſt of which was increaſed by an unforeſeen circumſtance. Celenus, the prieſt of Jupiter, recognized a brother in the chief of theſe unfortunate families, and was unable to tear himſelf from his arms. They reminded each other of the fatal events by which they had formerly been ſeparated. We paſſed ſome days with theſe two

[f] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 3, p. 287.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 33, p. 361.
[h] Id. ibid.

reſpectable old men, and with many of their kindred and their friends.

From the houſe of Celenus the eye may embrace the whole of Meſſenia, and follow its boundaries through a ſpace of about eight hundred ſtadia[i]*. The proſpect extends to the north, over Arcadia and Elis; to the weſt, and to the ſouth, over the ſea and the neighbouring iſlands; and to the eaſt, over a chain of mountains named Taygetus, which divide this country from that of Laconia. The eye at length repoſes with pleaſure on the rich landſcape contained within theſe limits. We were ſhewn, at different diſtances, fertile fields, interſected by hills and rivers, and covered with herds and young horſes, which conſtitute the riches of the inhabitants[k]. From the ſmall number of cultivators which we had ſeen, I could not refrain from remarking, that the population of the country did not appear to me to bear a due proportion to its fertility. That, replied Xenocles, is only to be imputed to thoſe barbarians, the odious ſight of whom is prevented by yon mountains. During four entire centuries the Lacedæmonians have ravaged Meſſenia, and left to the inhabitants, for their

[i] Strab. lib. 8, p. 362.

* Thirty leagues and a quarter.

[k] Euripid. et Tyrt. ap. Strab. lib. 8, p. 366. Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 122. Pauſan. lib. 4, p. 288 et 316. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.

whole inheritance, war or exile, death or ſlavery.

We had but a ſlight knowledge of theſe calamitous revolutions; which Xenocles perceiving, ſighed, and addreſſing himſelf to his ſon: Take your lyre, ſaid he, and ſing thoſe three elegies in which my father, immediately after our arrival in Libya, endeavoured to aſſuage his grief, and to eternize the memory of the woes our country has ſuffered. The youth obeyed, and began as follows:

FIRST ELEGY

*On the Firſt War of Meſſenia**.

Baniſhed from Greece, ſtrangers to other nations, we are only connected with mankind by the fruitleſs pity which they ſometimes deign to beſtow on our ſufferings. Who could have foretold, that, after having ſo long wandered on the waves, we ſhould arrive at the port of the Eveſperidæ[l], in a country which both nature and peace enrich with their moſt valuable gifts! Here the earth, largely repaying the vows of the labourer, renders back the ſeed confided to it, increaſed an hundred fold[m]. Tranquil rivers wind through the plain, near a valley ſhaded by laurels, myrtles,

* This war began in the year before Chriſt 743, and ended in the year 723 before the ſame æra.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 26, p. 342.

[m] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 198.

pomegranates, and trees of every ſpecies[n]. Beyond are burning ſands, barbarous nations, and ferocious animals; yet have we nothing to fear, for among them are no Lacedæmonians.

The inhabitants of theſe delightful retreats, compaſſionating our miſeries, have generouſly offered us an aſylum. Yet does grief conſume our days, and our feeble pleaſures only render our regret more poignant. Alas! how many times, while wandering in theſe enchanting groves, have I felt my tears involuntarily flow at the remembrance of Meſſenia! Oh happy banks of Pamiſus, auguſt temples, ſacred groves, plains ſo often moiſtened by the blood of our anceſtors, no, never can I forget you! But to you, ferocious Spartans, I ſwear, in the name of the fifty thouſand Meſſenians whom you have diſperſed over the earth, a hatred as implacable as your cruelty. I ſwear it in the name of their deſcendants, and in the name of all hearts of ſenſibility of every age and country.

Unfortunate ſurvivors of ſo many heroes more unfortunate ſtill, may my ſtrains, imitating thoſe of Tyrtæus and Archilochus, inceſſantly ſound in your ears, like the trumpet which gives the ſignal to the warrior, like the thunder which diſturbs

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[n] Scylac. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 46. Plin. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 249.

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the ſleep of the coward. May they, night and day preſenting to your eyes the menacing ſhades of your fathers, leave in your hearts a wound which ſhall bleed day and night!

The Meſſenians enjoyed, during many ages, an undiſturbed tranquillity, in a country which ſufficed to ſupply all their wants, and beneath the mild influences of a ſky perpetually ſerene. They were free; they had wiſe laws, ſimple manners, kings who loved their people [o], and joyous feſtivals to relax them after their labours.

On a ſudden the alliance by which they were united to the Lacedæmonians received a mortal wound. The two ſtates mutually accuſed and irritated each other, and menaces ſucceeded to complaints. Ambition, till then enchained by the laws of Lycurgus, ſeized the moment to break his fetters, and loudly calling injuſtice and violence to his aid, entered with theſe infernal attendants into the hearts of the Spartans, and incited them to ſwear on their altars never to lay down their arms till they had enſlaved Meſſenia [p]. The deſtructive paſſion, elated with his firſt ſucceſs, led them to one of the ſummits of Mount Taygetus, and ſhewing them the rich countries that lay before their eyes, introduced them into a fortified place

[o] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 3, p. 286.
[p] Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 4.

which belonged to their ancient allies, and ſerved as a barrier to the two ſtates [q].

At this news, our anceſtors, unable to endure the inſult, ran tumultuouſly to the palace of our kings. The ſage Euphaes was then on the throne. He liſtened to the advice of the chiefs of the nation: he excited the ardent courage of the Meſſenians; but reſtrained it till it might be exerted with ſucceſs [r]. Whole years ſcarcely ſufficed to inure to military diſcipline a people too long accuſtomed to the inert enjoyments of peace. In that interval he learnt to ſee, without a murmur, his harveſts deſtroyed by the Lacedæmonians, and to make himſelf ſeveral incurſions into Laconia.

Twice the moment of vengeance appeared to approach, twice the force of the two ſtates met in the martial conflict; but victory dared not yet to decide the important diſpute, and her indeciſion accelerated the ruin of the Meſſenians. Their army was enfeebled, from day to day, by the loſs of a great number of warriors, by the garriſons which it was neceſſary to maintain in different places, by the deſertion of the ſlaves, and by an epidemical diſeaſe, which began its dire ravages, in a country formerly ſo flouriſhing.

In this extremity it was reſolved to entrench

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[q] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 292.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 7, p. 295.

the army on Mount Ithome[s], and to conſult the oracle of Delphi. The prieſts, and not the gods, dictated the barbarous anſwer. The ſafety of Meſſenia, ſaid they, depends on the ſacrifice of a youthful maiden, drawn by lot, and choſen from the family on the throne[t].

Ancient prejudices blinded all eyes to the atrocious crime of obeying ſuch an injunction. The fatal urn was brought, and the lot condemned to death the daughter of Lyciſcus; but her father, ſuddenly withdrawing her from every eye, fled with her to Lacedæmon. The warrior Ariſtodemus inſtantly advanced, and, in deſpite of the tender affection which remonſtrated againſt the act from the bottom of his heart, offered his own to the altar. She had been affianced to one of the favourites of the king, who ran to protect her. He maintained that her father could not diſpoſe of his ſpouſe without his conſent. He went farther: to ſave her he ventured even to caſt an imputation on her innocence, and declared, that the rites of hymen had already been conſummated. The horror of ſuch a falſehood, the dread of diſhonour, paternal love, the ſafety of his country, the ſanctity of his word, a multitude of contrary emotions, agitated with ſuch violence the mind of Ariſtodemus, that the ſtroke of deſpair was neceſſary to

[s] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 301.
[t] Id. ibid. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5, cap. 27, p. 223.

afford him relief. He ſeized a poniard, and his daughter fell dead at his feet, in view of the ſhuddering ſpectators. The prieſt, unſated with blood, exclaimed: "It was not piety but madneſs which guided the hand of the murderer: the gods require another victim." And another they ſhall have, replied the furious multitude, who immediately fell upon the wretched lover, whom they would have torn to pieces on the ſpot, had not the king appeaſed the tumult, and perſuaded them that the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled.

Sparta ſtill inflexibly adhered to her projects of conqueſts, which were manifeſted by her frequent hoſtilities and bloody conflicts. In one of theſe battles king Euphaes was ſlain, and Ariſtodemus ſucceeded to the throne [v]. In another, in which ſeveral of the ſtates of Peloponneſus had joined the Meſſenians [x], our enemies were defeated, and three hundred of them, taken with arms in their hands, ſacrificed on the altars of Jupiter [y].

The ſiege of Ithome was nevertheleſs continued with vigour. Ariſtodemus prolonged the duration of it by his vigilance, his courage, the

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[v] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 10, p. 304.

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 305.

[y] Myron. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 294. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. t. i. p. 36. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4, cap. 16, p. 157. Plut. in Rom. t. i. p. 33. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 105.

confidence his troops had in him, and the cruel recollection of the fate of his daughter. At length fallacious oracles and terrifying prodigies ſhook his conſtancy; he deſpaired of the ſafety of Meſſenia, and, having ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword, yielded his laſt breath on the tomb of his daughter [z].

The beſieged however ſtill defended themſelves for many months; but, after having loſt their generals and their braveſt ſoldiers, ſeeing themſelves without proviſions and without reſource, they abandoned the place. Some retired to the neighbouring ſtates, others remained in their ancient dwellings, where the conquerors forced them to ſwear to obſerve the following articles.

"You ſhall undertake nothing againſt our authority; you ſhall cultivate your lands, but you ſhall bring us every year the half of the produce; at the death of our kings and principal magiſtrates you ſhall, both men and women, wear mourning [a]." Such were the humiliating conditions which, after a war of twenty years, Lacedæmon impoſed upon our anceſtors.

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[z] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 13, p. 311.

[a] Tyrt. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 313. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1.

SECOND ELEGY

On the Second War of Meſſenia *.

Again I reſume the lyre, again I prepare to ſing the glory of a hero who long fought on the ruins of his country. Ah! were it permitted to mortals to change the decrees of deſtiny, his victorious arms would doubtleſs have repaired the injuries of a deſtructive war, and a peace no leſs hateful.

What a peace! Juſt heaven! during the ſpace of nine-and-thirty years, it never ceaſed to render more heavy the iron yoke which bowed down the heads of the vanquiſhed [b], and to oppreſs them with every ſpecies of ſervitude. Subjected to toilſome labours, ſinking beneath the weight of the tributes which they carried to Lacedæmon, forced to mourn at the funerals of their tyrants [c], and not daring to utter their impotent hatred, they bequeathed to their children only woes to ſuffer and inſults to revenge. So extreme were their miſeries, that the aged had no longer any evil to fear in death, nor the youthful any good to hope in life.

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* This war began in the year before Chriſt 684, and ended in the year 668 before the ſame æra.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 315.

[c] Tyrt. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 313. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 300.

Their eyes, continually fixed on the ground, were at length raiſed towards Ariſtomenes, who was deſcended from our ancient kings, and who, from his earlieſt youth, had exhibited in his countenance, his words, and actions, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of an elevated mind. This prince, ſurrounded by ardent and impatient youths, whoſe courage he by turns inflamed or tempered, conſulted the diſpoſitions of the neighbouring ſtates; and having learned that thoſe of Argos and Arcadia were ready to furniſh him with ſuccours, called the Meſſenians to arms [d], and from that moment the cries of oppreſſion and the ſhouts of liberty were heard on all ſides.

The firſt battle was fought in a village of Meſſenia. The victory was long doubtful; but Ariſtomenes ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, that the army, with one voice, proclaimed him king on the field of battle; but he refuſed an honour to which he had a legitimate title by his birth, and a ſtill more juſt claim by his virtues.

Placed at the head of the troops, he wiſhed to intimidate the Spartans by a ſignal act of courage, and to depoſit in the heart of their capital the pledge of the hatred he had vowed againſt them from his infancy. He repaired to Lacedæmon, and having ſecretly entered the temple of Minerva,

[d] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 314.

affixed to the wall a buckler, on which theſe words were inſcribed: "Ariſtomenes has conſecrated this to the goddeſs from the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians [e]."

Sparta, conformably to the anſwer of the oracle of Delphi, then demanded of the Athenians a general to conduct the war. Athens, who feared to contribute to the aggrandizement of her rival, ſent Tyrtæus [f], an obſcure poet, who compenſated the diſadvantages of his perſon and the meanneſs of his fortune by a ſublime talent which the Athenians regarded as a ſpecies of phrenſy [g].

Tyrtæus, called to the aſſiſtance of a warlike nation, which ſoon received him into the number of her citizens [h], felt his ſoul expanded, and, following where his high deſtiny called, gave the reins to his genius. His ardent ſongs inſpired the contempt of dangers and of death: he recited them to the troops; and the Lacedæmonians eagerly flew to the combat [i].

The common colours of language would be inadequate to expreſs the ſanguinary rage which animated the two nations; new ones muſt be

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 316.

[f] Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 162. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 5. Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 15, p. 316. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. viii. p. 144; t. xiii. p. 284.

[g] Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 43.

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 629.

[i] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 805. Horat. Art. Poet. v. 402.

created. As when the celeſtial fires fall and inflame the gulfs of Ætna; the volcano trembles and roars; it raiſes its boiling waves, pours them forth from its opening ſides, and hurls them towards heaven, which it dares to brave: the thunderbolt, fraught with new fires, which it has drawn from the clouds, again deſcends, ſwifter than the lightning, ſtrikes with reiterated ſhocks the ſummit of the mountain, and, after having ſhivered its ſmoking rocks, impoſes ſilence on the abyſs, and leaves it covered with aſhes and eternal ruins: thus did Ariſtomenes at the head of the Meſſenian youth fall on the choſen bands of Sparta, commanded by their king Anaxander. His warriors, imitating the example of their chief, ruſhed on the foe like furious lions; but their utmoſt efforts were ineffectual againſt that immovable phalanx, clad in iron, inflamed with the moſt violent paſſions, and whence the weapons of death inceſſantly flew on the aſſailants. Covered with blood and wounds, they deſpaired of victory; when Ariſtomenes, redoubling his exertions, and inſpiring his ſoldiers with his own heroiſm, forced the brave Anaxander and his formidable warriors to give ground [k], rapidly pierced the battalions of the enemy, put to flight ſome by his courage and others by his preſence, diſperſed, purſued,

[k] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 16, p. 318.

and left them in their camp, buried in unutterable conſternation.

The women of Meſſenia celebrated this victory by ſongs which we ſtill repeat[1]; their huſbands raiſed their heads, and on their menacing brow the god of war imprinted terror and courage.

But now, O goddeſs of memory! it ſhould be thine to declare how days ſo glorious were ſuddenly overſhadowed by a thick and gloomy veil; but thy pictures almoſt always only preſent imperfect ſtrokes and faded colours, as the waves of the ocean only caſt on ſhore the ſhattered fragments of the veſſel which was once the ſovereign of the ſeas. Liſten, young Meſſenians, to a teſtimony more faithful and more reſpectable. I ſaw him; I heard his voice; in the midſt of that ſtormy night which diſperſed the fleet I led into Libya. Caſt on an unknown ſhore, I exclaimed: "O earth! thou ſhalt at leaſt ſerve us for a grave, and our bones ſhall not be trampled on by the Lacedæmonians."

At that fatal name I ſaw torrents of flame and ſmoke pour forth from a funeral monument near me, while from the bottom of the tomb a ſhade aroſe, and uttered theſe words: What mortal comes to trouble the repoſe of Ariſtomenes, and to rekindle in his aſhes the hatred he ſtill retains

[1] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 16, p. 319.

againſt a barbarous nation? It is a Meſſenian, replied I with tranſport. It is Comon, the heir of a family formerly united with yours. O Ariſtomenes! O greateſt of mortals! is it then permitted me to to ſee and hear thee? Oh, ye gods! I bleſs you, for the firſt time in my life, for having brought to Rhodes the unfortunate Comon. My ſon, replied the hero, thou ſhalt bleſs them during thy whole life. They have declared to me thy arrival, and have granted me permiſſion to reveal to thee the ſecrets of their high wiſdom. The time approaches, when, like the luminary of day, whoſe glorious beams have diſperſed the envious clouds, Meſſenia ſhall again appear on the ſtage of the world with new-born luſtre. Heaven, by its ſecret counſels, ſhall guide the hero who is to effect this prodigy, and thou ſhalt be informed of the time when my prediction is to be accompliſhed [m]. Farewell: thou mayeſt depart. Thy companions await thee in Libya; bear to them the momentous tidings.

Stop, generous ſhade, cried I, inſtantly; deign to add to hopes ſo delicious, conſolation ſtill more delightful. Our fathers were unfortunate; it is therefore eaſy to believe them culpable. Time has deſtroyed the proofs of their innocence, and the ſurrounding nations propagate ſuſpicions dero-

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[m] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 26, p. 342 et 343; cap. 32, p. 359.

gatory to our honour. Ariſtomenes betrayed, wandering from city to city, and dying alone in the iſland of Rhodes, ſeems to fix a ſtigma on the Meſſenians.

Go, depart, fly, my ſon, replied the hero, raiſing his voice, declare to all the earth that the valour of your fathers was more ardent than the fires of the dog-ſtar, and their virtues more pure than the light of heaven; and if men are yet ſuſceptible of pity, force tears from them by the recital of our misfortunes. Liſten to me.

Sparta could not ſupport the ſhame of her defeat. She ſaid to her warriors, Avenge me; to her ſlaves, Protect me [n]; to a ſlave ſtill more vile than her own, and whoſe head was adorned with a diadem, Betray thy allies [o]. This was Ariſtocrates, who reigned over the powerful nation of the Arcadians, and had joined his troops to ours.

The two armies advanced as two thunder-clouds approach to diſpute the empire of the air. At the ſight of their conquerors our enemies vainly ſought in their hearts ſome remains of courage, while in their diſturbed eyes was depicted the ſordid dread of death. Tyrtæus then preſented himſelf to the ſoldiers with the confidence and authority of a man on whom the ſafety of his country de-

[n] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 16, p. 319.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 17, p. 321.

pends. He ſucceſſively diſplayed before them[p] the moſt lively and animated images; that of a hero who has repulſed his enemy; the intermingled ſhouts of joy and love which honour his triumph, the reſpect which his preſence ever after inſpires, and the honourable repoſe which his old age enjoys. He painted the ſtill more affecting ſcene of a young warrior expiring in the field of glory; the auguſt ceremonies which accompany his funeral; the ſorrow and regret of a whole people at the ſight of his bier; the old men, women, and children, who weep and roll in the duſt around his tomb, and the immortal honours which await his memory. Such objects and ſuch ſentiments, depicted with an impetuous and rapid eloquence, inflame the warriors with an ardour till then unknown; they faſten to their arms their names and thoſe of their families, too happy in the hope that they may obtain a diſtinguiſhed ſepulchre, and that poſterity may one day ſay, repeating their names, Lo! theſe are thoſe who died for their country[q]!

While a poet wrought this wondrous change in the army of the Lacedæmonians, a king completed his perfidy in ours[r]. Unfavourable rumours, propagated by his orders, had prepared the terrified troops for his baſe treachery. The ſignal

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[p] Tyrt. ap. Stob. Serm. 49, p. 354.
[q] Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 5.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 322.

of battle was for them the ſignal of flight. Ariſtocrates led the way in the path of infamy, which he traced out through our battalions, at the moment when they were attacked by the phalanx of the enemy. In an inſtant the flower of our warriors were extended in the duſt, and Meſſenia was enſlaved. Yet, no; liberty reſerved to herſelf an aſylum on Mount Ira [s]. Thither retired the ſoldiers eſcaped from the carnage, and the citizens who diſdained to bend their necks to ſervitude. The conquerors formed a blockade at the foot of the mountain, and with terror ſaw us above their heads, as the pale mariners behold in the horizon the dark clouds which bear the tempeſt in their boſom.

Then began that ſiege, leſs renowned, but no leſs worthy to be celebrated, than that of Ilium. Then were repeated or realized the exploits of the ancient heroes. The rigours of the ſeaſons, eleven times renewed, were inſufficient to weary the ferocious obſtinacy of the beſiegers, or the unſhaken conſtancy of the beſieged [t].

Three hundred Meſſenians of diſtinguiſhed valour accompanied me in my expeditions [u]. We eaſily paſſed the barrier at the foot of the mountain, and carried terror to the environs of Sparta.

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[s] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 323.
[t] Rhian. ap. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 323.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 18, p. 323.

One day, when loaded with plunder, we were ſurrounded by the army of the enemy. We ruſhed on the foe, though we deſpaired to conquer. A deadly wound deprived me of all ſenſe; and, oh! that it had never been again reſtored! In what a ſituation did I return to life! Had black Tartarus ſuddenly preſented itſelf to my ſight, it had inſpired me with leſs horror. I found myſelf extended on a heap of the dead and the dying, in a dark and deep pit, where were only heard the piercing cries and ſtifled groans of my companions and my friends who had been caſt into it before me. I called them by name; we wept together, and my preſence ſeemed to lighten their miſeries. He whom moſt I loved, oh cruel remembrance! oh too fatal image! oh, my ſon! thou wilt not hear me without ſhuddering, was one of thy anceſtors. I knew, by ſome words that eſcaped him, that my fall had haſtened the moment of his death. I preſſed him in my arms, I covered him with my burning tears, and, unable to arreſt the fleeting breath of life hovering on his lips, my ſoul, ſteeled by its ſufferings, ceaſed to ſeek relief in complaints and tears. My friends ſucceſſively expired around me. By the varied accents of their failing voices I was able to preſage the moments of life which yet remained to each, and ſaw without emotion that inſtant arrive which concluded their ſufferings. At length I heard the

final groan of the laſt among them, and the ſilence of the grave reigned through the cavern.

Thrice had the ſun begun his courſe ſince I had been no longer numbered among the living [x]. Motionleſs, extended on the bed of woe, and wrapped in my mantle, I impatiently expected that death who ſeemed to eſtimate his favours at ſo high a price, when my ear was ſtruck by a ſlight noiſe. It was occaſioned by a wild animal [*], which had entered the cave by a ſecret paſſage. I took hold of him; he endeavoured to eſcape, and drew me after him. I know not by what motive I was actuated, for life then appeared to me the moſt cruel of ſufferings. Some divinity, doubtleſs, directed my motions, and inſpired me with ſtrength. I long crept through a number of oblique windings, till I ſaw the light, when I reſtored liberty to my guide, and, continuing to open myſelf a paſſage, left the region of darkneſs. I found the Meſſenians weeping my loſs. At ſight of me the mountain ſhook with ſhouts of joy, and at the recital of my ſufferings with cries of indignation.

Vengeance cloſely followed, vengeance cruel as the wrath of the gods. The countries of Meſſenia and Laconia were day and night ravaged by ene-

[x] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 18, p. 324.
[*] A fox.

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mies thirſting for the blood of each other. The Spartans overſpread the plain as the flame devours the harveſt, and we as the torrent which both deſtroys the harveſt and extinguiſhes the flame. We had received ſecret information that the Corinthians were approaching to the ſuccour of the Lacedæmonians; we entered their camp under cover of the darkneſs, and they paſſed from the embraces of ſleep to thoſe of death[y]. Vain exploits! deceitful hopes! From the immenſe receptacle of years and ages, Time produces, at the preciſe moment, thoſe great revolutions which have been conceived in the boſom of eternity, and ſometimes announced by oracles. That of Delphi had declared that our ruin ſhould cloſely follow certain preſages which were now fulfilled; and the augur Theoclus warned me that we now approached the cataſtrophe of all theſe bloody ſcenes[z].

A ſhepherd, formerly the ſlave of Emperamus, the general of the Lacedæmonians, daily led his flock to the banks of the Neda, which flows at the foot of Mount Ira[a]. He loved a Meſſenian woman whoſe houſe was ſituated on the brow of the mountain, and who received him there as often as her huſband was on duty in our camp. One night, during a dreadful ſtorm, the Meſſenian unex-

[y] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 19, p. 325.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 327.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 329.

pectedly came home, and told his wife, who was aſtoniſhed at his return, that the tempeſt and the darkneſs ſufficiently defended the place from an aſſault, that the poſts were all abandoned, and that I was confined to my bed by a wound. The ſhepherd, who had not been ſeen by the Meſſenian, heard all that he had ſaid, and immediately carried the information to the Lacedæmonian general.

Exhauſted with fatigue and pain, I had reſigned myſelf to the arms of ſleep, when the Genius of Meſſenia appeared to me, in a long mourning habit, and with his head covered with a veil. Thou ſleepeſt, Ariſtomenes, ſaid he, thou ſleepeſt! and already the menacing ſcaling ladders are affixed around the walls, and already the youthful Spartans have mounted to the aſſault. The Genius of Lacedæmon prevails over me. I have ſeen him from the ſummit of the ramparts calling forward his ferocious warriors, and, ſtretching forth his hand, aſſign them their ſeveral poſts.

I ſtarted from my ſleep, with my ſoul oppreſſed, my mind diſtracted, and in the ſame aſtoniſhment and diſmay as if the thunderbolt had fallen at my feet. I threw myſelf on my arms. My ſon arrived. Where, exclaimed I, are the Lacedæmonians?—In the forum, at the foot of the ramparts. Aſtoniſhed at their daring attempt, they heſitate to advance. It is enough, replied I, follow me. We found,

found, as we went, Theoclus the augur, the valiant Manticlus, his ſon, and other chiefs, who joined us[a]. Run, ſaid I, ſpread the alarm. Tell the Meſſenians that at the break of day they ſhall ſee their general in the midſt of the enemy.

The fatal moment arrived[b]. The ſtreets, the houſes, the temples, deluged with blood, reſounded with dreadful cries. The Meſſenians, unable to hear my voice, liſtened only to their rage. The women animated them to the combat, and, arming themſelves with a thouſand inſtruments of death, ruſhed upon the enemy, and, expiring, fell on the bodies of their huſbands and their children.

During three days theſe diſaſtrous ſcenes were renewed at every ſtep, and every inſtant, by the livid glare of lightning, and to the continued roar of thunder. The Lacedæmonians, ſuperior in number, acquired freſh ſtrength in the intervals of repoſe; while the Meſſenians, fighting without ceſſation, had at once to contend with hunger, thirſt, ſleep, and the ſword of the enemy[c].

At the end of the third day, the augur Theoclus thus addreſſed me: "Alas! what can ſo much valour or labours ſo ſevere avail! Meſſenia is no more: the gods have decreed her deſtruction. Save yourſelf, Ariſtomenes; ſave our unfortunate

[a] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 21, p. 330.
[b] Id. ibid, p. 331.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 332.

friends; it is for me to be buried beneath the ruins of my country."

He ſaid, and throwing himſelf into the thickeſt of the conflict, died free, and crowned with glory.

It had been eaſy for me to have imitated him; but, ſubmitting to the will of the gods, I believed my life might be neceſſary to that multitude of innocent victims which the ſword might elſe deſtroy. I collected the women and children, and ſurrounded them with ſoldiers. The enemy, perſuaded that we intended a retreat, opened their ranks, and ſuffered us to proceed unmoleſted to the country of the Arcadians *. I ſhall not ſpeak either of the deſign I had formed to march to Lacedæmon and ſurpriſe that city while her ſoldiers were enriching themſelves with our ſpoils on Mount Ira, nor of the perfidy of king Ariſtocrates, who betrayed our ſecret to the Lacedæmonians. The treacherous prince was condemned by the aſſembly of his nation; his ſubjects themſelves became his executioners; he expired beneath a ſhower of darts; his body was carried into a foreign land, and a column erected which perpetuated his infamy and his puniſhment [d].

By this unexpected ſtroke, Fortune clearly mani-

* The taking of Ira happened in the firſt year of the 28th Olympiad, in the year 668 before Chriſt. (Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 23, p. 336. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 46. Freret. Defenſ. de la Chron. p. 174.)

[d] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 301. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 22, p. 335.

feſted her determination. I reſolved no longer to attempt to render her propitious, but ſingly to brave her utmoſt anger. I gave the tribute of my tears to thoſe Meſſenians who had been unable to join me, but I refuſed to be prevailed on by thoſe of my followers who wiſhed to accompany me into diſtant climes[e]. The Arcadians offered to ſhare with them their lands[f], but I rejected all their offers. My faithful companions, confounded with a numerous nation, would have loſt their name, and the memory of the wrongs they had endured. I gave to them my ſon, another Ariſtomenes, for their leader; and under his conduct they ſailed to Sicily, where they are reſerved till the day of vengeance[g] *.

After this cruel ſeparation, having no longer any thing to fear, and every where ſeeking to raiſe up enemies to the Lacedæmonians, I travelled through various countries. At length I determined to go into Aſia, and engage the powerful nations of the Medes and Lydians[h] to intereſt themſelves in our behalf. Death, which ſurpriſed me at Rhodes, prevented projects that, by bringing theſe nations into Peloponneſus, might perhaps have changed the face of that part of Greece.

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 23, p. 335.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 22, p. 333.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 23, p. 335 et 336.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[h] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 24, p. 338.

Having ended theſe words, the hero was ſilent, and deſcended into the darkneſs of the tomb. On the next day I departed for Libya.

THIRD ELEGY

*On the Third War of Meſſenia**.

How painful is the remembrance of my country! It is bitter as wormwood; it is keen as the edge of the ſword; it renders me alike inſenſible to pleaſure and to danger. I this morning aroſe before the luminary of day, and wandered with uncertain ſteps over the plain; but the beauties of Aurora no longer afforded me delight. Two enormous lions ruſhed from the neighbouring foreſt. I inſulted them not, and they left me unhurt. Cruel Spartans! how had our anceſtors injured you? After the taking of Ira you inflicted on them puniſhments, and, in the intoxication of ſucceſs, cruelly inſulted their ſufferings.

Ariſtomenes has promiſed us a happier futurity: but what can extinguiſh in our hearts the ſenſe of the evils of which we have heard the recital, and of which we have been the victims? Happy wert thou, Ariſtomenes, that thou wert not a witneſs to them. Thou didſt not behold the inhabitants of Meſſenia dragged to death like the vileſt criminals,

* This war began in the year 464, and ended in the year 454, before Chriſt.

and ſold like herds of cattle[i]; nor didſt thou ſee their deſcendants, during two centuries, tranſmit to their children only the opprobrium of their birth[k]. Reſt undiſturbed in the tomb, ſhade of the greateſt of mortals, and leave to me to declare to poſterity the recent cruelties of the Lacedæmonians.

Their magiſtrates, the enemies of the gods as well as of mankind, put to death the ſuppliants whom they forced from the temple of Neptune[l]. The offended deity ſtruck with his trident the coaſts of Laconia. The earth trembled, the abyſs opened, and, one of the ſummits of Mount Taygetus ruſhing into the valley, Sparta was deſtroyed from the foundations, only five houſes remaining ſtanding, and more than twenty thouſand men being buried beneath her ruins[m]. Behold the ſignal of our deliverance! inſtantly exclaimed a multitude of ſlaves. Madly they ran toward Lacedæmon, without order, and without a leader. At the ſight of a body of Spartans, who had been collected by their king Archidamus, they ſtopped, like the winds unchained by Æolus at the appearance of the god of the ocean. At the ſight of the Athenians, and the different nations which had

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[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 24, p. 338.
[l] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 509. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ταίναρ.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 48. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 50, t. iii. p. 41. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 79, t. i. p. 111.

haſtened to the ſuccour of Lacedæmon[n], the greater part of them were ſcattered, as the thick vapours of a marſh are diſſipated before the firſt rays of the ſun. But it was not in vain that the Meſſenians took arms; a long ſlavery had not debaſed the generous blood that flows in their veins; and as the captive eagle, after having broken his bonds, ſoars to the ſkies, they retired to Mount Ithome[o], and vigorouſly repulſed the reiterated attacks of the Lacedæmonians, who were ſoon reduced to call to their aſſiſtance the troops of their allies.

Then appeared thoſe Athenians ſo experienced in the conduct of ſieges. They were commanded by Cimon, Cimon whom victory has ſo often crowned with immortal laurels. The renown of his glory, and the valour of his troops, inſpired the beſieged with fear, and the Lacedæmonians themſelves with apprehenſion. They dared to ſuſpect this great man of perfidy, and prevailed on him, under frivolous pretexts, to return with his army into Attica. He departed, and the goddeſs of Diſcord, who hovered over his camp, foreſeeing the calamities ready to fall upon Greece[p], ſhook

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[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 48. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101 et 128. Pauſan. lib. 3, p. 233; et lib. 4, p. 339. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Ælian. lib. 6, cap. 7. Polyæn. lib. 1, cap. 41.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 24, p. 339.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101 et 128. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 49. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 6. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489.

her terrific ſnakes, and, amid howlings of joy, uttered theſe dreadful words.

Oh Sparta, Sparta! who only knoweſt to reward ſervices with injuries, behold thoſe warriors who return to their country, with ſhame on their brow, and indignation in their hearts; they are the ſame who, lately aſſociated with thine, defeated the Perſians at Platæa. They flew to thy defence, and thou haſt covered them with infamy. Thou ſhalt henceforth only ſee them as thy enemies. Athens, wounded in her honour, ſhall arm againſt thee the nations [q], whom thou ſhalt likewiſe excite againſt her. Thy power and hers ſhall inceſſantly renew the conflict, as impetuous winds contend with each other among the clouds. Wars ſhall bring forth wars, and peace ſhall only be a ſuſpenſion of rage. I will march with the Eumenides at the head of the armies, and from our flaming torches will we rain on you plague, famine, violence, perfidy, and all the ſcourges of the wrath of heaven and of human paſſions. I will avenge me of thy ancient virtues, and delight in thy defeats as well as in thy victories. I will exalt and I will abaſe thy rival. I ſhall behold thee on thy knees, ſtriking thy humbled forehead againſt the earth. Thou ſhalt ſolicit peace, and peace ſhall be denied thee [r]. Thou ſhalt deſtroy the walls of

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 102.

[r] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 41. Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 637 et 664. Schol. ibid.

thy rival; thou ſhalt trample her beneath thy feet, and you ſhall both fall together, like two tigers who, after having torn the entrails of each other, expire ſide by ſide. Then will I plunge thee ſo deep in the duſt, that the traveller, unable to diſcern any traces of thee, ſhall be forced to ſtoop, and attentively examine, to recognize them.

Now mark the ſign which ſhall prove to thee the truth of my words. Thou ſhalt take Ithome in the tenth year of the ſiege. Thou ſhalt wiſh to exterminate the Meſſenians; but the oracle of Delphi ſhall prevent thy ſanguinary deſign[s]. Thou ſhalt permit them to live, on condition that they enjoy life in another climate, and be loaded with chains if they dare to return to their native country[t]. When this prediction ſhall be accompliſhed, remember what I have beſides foretold, and tremble.

Thus ſpake the malevolent genius who extends her power from the heavens to the infernal ſhades. We ſoon after left Ithome. I was yet in my tendereſt infancy, but the image of that precipitate flight is impreſſed on my memory in indelible characters. Still do I behold thoſe ſcenes of horror and woe which then preſented themſelves to my view. A whole people, driven from their habitations[u], wandering whither chance might lead

[s] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 24, p. 339.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 103.
[u] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. 4, p. 300.

them, among nations terrified at their misfortunes, which they dared not to alleviate; warriors covered with wounds, carrying their aged parents on their ſhoulders; women, ſitting on the ground, expiring with weakneſs, and claſping their wretched children in their arms; on this ſide tears and groans and the moſt violent expreſſions of deſpair, and on that a dumb woe and a profound ſilence. Were the moſt cruel of the Spartans to attempt to paint theſe ſcenes of miſery, ſome remains of compaſſion would cauſe the pencil to drop from his hands.

After long and diſaſtrous journeyings, we at length reached Naupactus, a city ſituated on the ſea of Criſſa, and appertaining to the Athenians, who beſtowed it upon us [x]. In gratitude for the favour, we more than once ſignalized our valour againſt the enemies of that generous people. I myſelf, during the Peloponneſian war, appeared with a body of troops on the coaſts of Meſſenia. I ravaged the country, and extorted tears of rage from our barbarous perſecutors [y]. But the gods ever mingle a ſecret poiſon with their favours, and too frequently hope is only a ſnare which they ſpread for the unfortunate. We began to enjoy tranquillity, when the fleet of Lacedæmon triumphed over that of Athens, and came to inſult

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 103. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 25, p. 339.
[y] Id. lib. 4, cap. 41. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 26, p. 342.

us at Naupactus. We immediately haſtened on board our ſhips, and on each ſide no other divinity was invoked but Hatred. Never was victory drenched with more impure or more innocent blood. But what can the moſt intrepid valour effect againſt exceſſive ſuperiority of numbers? We were conquered, and driven out of Greece as we had been from Peloponneſus. The greater part took refuge in Italy and in Sicily. Three thouſand men confided their deſtiny to my guidance [z]. I led them, through the midſt of tempeſts and rocks, to theſe ſhores, which never ſhall ceaſe to reſound with my mournful ſongs.

Thus ended the third elegy: the youth laid down his lyre; and his father Xenocles added, that a ſhort time after their arrival in Libya, a ſedition having happened at Cyrene, the capital of that country, the Meſſenians took part with the exiles, and were almoſt all cut off in one battle [a]. He afterwards enquired in what manner the revolution which had reſtored him to Meſſenia had been effected; to which queſtion Celenus replied as follows:

The Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas, had defeated the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra in Bœotia *. Completely to enfeeble their

[z] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 26, p. 342. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 263.
[a] Diod. Sic. ibid.
* The year 371 before Chriſt.

power, and diſable them from undertaking diſtant expeditions, that great man formed the project of placing near them an enemy who ſhould have great injuries to revenge. He ſent to the Meſſenians, wherever they were ſcattered, to invite them to return to the country of their fathers [b], and we readily obeyed the ſummons. I found him at the head of a formidable army, ſurrounded by architects, who traced the plan of a city at the foot of this mountain. A moment after, the general of the Argives approaching, preſented to him a brazen urn, which, in conſequence of a dream, he had dug out of the earth, where it was concealed under an ivy and a myrtle which interwove their ſlender branches. Epaminondas having opened it, found in it leaves of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which had anciently been written the rites of the worſhip of Ceres and Proſerpine. He recognized the monument to which was attached the fate of Meſſenia, and which Ariſtomenes had buried in the leaſt frequented part of Mount Ithome [c]. This diſcovery, and the favourable anſwer of the augurs, impreſſed the ſtamp of religion on his enterpriſe, which was beſides powerfully ſeconded by the neighbouring ſtates, at all times jealous of Lacedæmon.

On the day of the conſecration of the city, the

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[b] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 26, p. 342. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[c] Pauſan. ibid. p. 343.

troops being aſſembled, the Arcadians preſented the victims; and the Thebans, Argives, and Meſſenians ſeparately offered their homage to their tutelary divinities, and all conjointly called on the heroes of the country to come and take poſſeſſion of their new habitation[d]. Among theſe names, ſo precious to the nation, that of Ariſtomenes excited univerſal plaudits. The firſt day was employed in ſacrifices and prayers; and on the ſecond the foundations of the walls, temples, and houſes, were laid to the ſound of flutes. The city in a little time was finiſhed, and received the name of Meſſene.

The people of other nations, added Celenus, have long wandered far from their country, but none have ſuffered ſo long an exile; yet have we preſerved, without alteration, the language and cuſtoms of our anceſtors[e]. I will even affirm, that our misfortunes have increaſed our ſenſibility. The Lacedæmonians had given ſome of our cities to ſtrangers[f], who, on our return, implored our compaſſion. Perhaps they had juſt claims to obtain it; but even though they had not, how was it poſſible to refuſe it to the unfortunate?

Alas! replied Xenocles, it was this mild and humane character which was formerly our ruin.

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 27, p. 345.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 346.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 24, p. 338.

Our anceſtors, neighbours to the Lacedæmonians and the Arcadians, only ſunk beneath the hatred of the former becauſe they had neglected the friendſhip of the latter[g]: they were doubtleſs ignorant that to enſure peace requires as much activity as to extend conqueſts.

I put ſeveral queſtions to the Meſſenians concerning the ſtate of arts and ſciences among them. They replied, they had not yet had time to cultivate them: on their preſent government; it had not yet taken any conſtant form: on that which ſubſiſted during their wars with the Lacedæmonians; it was a mixture of royalty and oligarchy[h], but public affairs were diſcuſſed in the general aſſembly of the nation[i]. I enquired concerning the origin of the laſt reigning family; and was anſwered, that it was derived from Creſphontes, who came into Peloponneſus, with the other Heraclidæ, eighty years after the war of Troy. Meſſenia was allotted to him as his portion. He eſpouſed Merope the daughter of a king of Arcadia, and was aſſaſſinated with almoſt all his children, by the chiefs of his court, becauſe he too much loved his people[k]. Hiſtory has conſidered it as a duty

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[g] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 300.
[h] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 24, p. 338.
[i] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 6, p. 294.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 3, p. 286.

to eternize his memory as ſacred, and to execrate that of his aſſaſſins.

We left Meſſenia, and, after having croſſed the Pamiſus, viſited the eaſtern coaſt of the province. Here, as in every other part of Greece, the traveller, at every ſtep, meets with the genealogies of gods confounded with thoſe of men. Not a city, river, fountain, wood, or mountain, but bears the name of a nymph, a hero, or ſome diſtinguiſhed perſon, more celebrated at preſent than in the time in which he lived.

Among the numerous families which formerly poſſeſſed ſmall domains in Meſſenia, that of Æſculapius holds a diſtinguiſhed rank in the veneration of the people. In the city of Abia, we were ſhewn his temple[l]; at Gerenia, the tomb of Machaon his ſon[m]; at Pheræ, the temple of Nicomachus and Gorgaſus his grandſons[n], inceſſantly honoured by ſacrifices, offerings, and a numerous concourſe of ſick perſons labouring under every kind of diſorder.

While we were liſtening to a long account of miraculous cures, one of theſe unfortunate wretches, ready to yield up his laſt breath, ſaid to us: I had ſcarcely come into the world when my parents went to ſettle at the ſources of the Pamiſus, where

[l] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 30, p. 353.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 3, p. 284.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 287, et cap. 30, p. 353.

it is pretended the waters of that river are extremely ſalutary for the diſeaſes of infants [o]. I have paſſed my life in the neighbourhood of beneficent divinities who diſtribute health to mortals, ſometimes in the temple of Apollo, near the city of Corone [p], and ſometimes in the place where I now am, obſerving all the preſcribed ceremonies, and ſparing neither for victims nor offerings. I have always been aſſured that I was cured; but I am dying. He expired the next day.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 31, p. 356.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 34, p. 365.

CHAP. XLI.

Journey through Laconia *.

WE embarked at Pheræ, on board a veſſel bound for the port of Scandea, in the ſmall iſland of Cythera, ſituated at the extremity of Laconia. At this port the merchant ſhips which come from Egypt and Africa frequently touch. From it an aſcent leads to the city of Cythera, in which the Lacedæmonians maintain a garriſon. They beſides annually ſend into the iſland a magiſtrate as governor [q].

We were young, and had already formed an intimacy with ſome paſſengers of our own age. The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the moſt pleaſurable ideas. In that iſland has ſubſiſted from time immemorial the moſt ancient and moſt venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus [qq]. There was it that ſhe for the firſt time ſhewed herſelf to mortals [r], and, accompanied by the Loves, took poſſeſſion of that land, ſtill embelliſhed by the flowers which haſtened to diſcloſe

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* See the map of Laconia.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 53. Scyl. Caryand. ap. Georg. Min. t. i. p. 17.

[qq] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 23, p. 269.

[r] Heſiod. Theog. v. 198.

themſelves at her preſence. From that time have been known there the charms of the amorous interview and the tender ſmile[s]. Ah! doubtleſs, in that fortunate region, hearts only ſeek to unite; and the inhabitants paſs their days in plenty and in pleaſure.

The captain, who heard us with the greateſt ſurpriſe, ſaid to us coldly: They eat figs and roaſted cheeſe, they have alſo wine and honey[t]; but they obtain nothing from the earth without the ſweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky ſoil[u]. Beſides, they are ſo fond of money[x] that they are very little acquainted with the tender ſmile. I have ſeen their old temple, formerly built by the Phœnicians, in honour of Venus Urania[y]. Her ſtatue is not very ſuitable to inſpire love, as ſhe appears in complete armour[z]. I have been told, as well as you, that the goddeſs when ſhe aroſe out of the ſea landed on this iſland; but I was likewiſe told that ſhe ſoon fled from it into Cyprus[a].

From theſe laſt words we concluded that the Phœnicians, having traverſed the ſeas, landed at

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[s] Heſiod. Theog. v. 205.
[t] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Theſ. Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2830.
[u] Spon, Voyag. t. i. p. 97. Whel. book i. p. 47.
[x] Heracl. ibid.
[y] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 105.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 23, p. 269.
[a] Heſiod. Theog. v. 193.

the port of Scandea; that they brought thither the worſhip of Venus, which ſoon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated thoſe abſurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her riſing out of the ſea, and her arrival at Cythera.

Inſtead of proceeding with our captain to this iſland, we requeſted him to leave us at Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is ſufficiently large to contain a great number of ſhips[b]. It is ſituated near a cape of the ſame name[c], on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. Theſe ſacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, ſtands in the middle of a conſecrated grove, which ſerves as an aſylum to criminals[d]. The ſtatue of the god is at the entrance[e]; and at the bottom opens an immenſe cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks.

It is affirmed that it was at firſt the haunt of an enormous ſerpent, which Hercules ſlew, and which has been confounded with the dog of Pluto, becauſe its bite was mortal[f]. This idea was aſſociated with one already entertained, that the cavern led to the domains of the gloomy king, by ſubter-

[b] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 19.
[c] Steph. in Ταιν. Schol. Apollon. Argon. lib. i. v. 102.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 128 et 133.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 275.
[f] Hecat. Miles ap. Pauſan. ibid.

ranean paſſages, of which it was impoſſible for us, when we viſited it, to perceive the avenues [g].

You behold, ſaid the prieſt, one of the mouths of the infernal ſhades [h]. Several ſimilar ones are found in different places, as at the city of Hermione, in Argolis [i]; at Heraclea, in Pontus [k]; at Aornus, in Theſprotia [l]; and at Cumæ, near Naples [m]. But notwithſtanding the pretenſions of the inhabitants of theſe places, we maintain that it was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light [n], and that Orpheus returned with his wife [o].

Theſe traditions ought, however, leſs to engage your attention than a practice of which I am now about to ſpeak. This cavern is in poſſeſſion of a privilege which many other places enjoy [p]. Hither our diviners come to call up the peaceful ſhades of the dead, or to baniſh to the remoteſt part of

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 25, p. 275.

[h] Pind. Pyth. 4, v. 79. Schol. ibid. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. 1, p. 286 et 287. Mela, lib. 2, cap. 3.

[i] Strab. lib. 8, p. 373.

[k] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 6, p. 375. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 261. Plin. lib. 27, cap. 2, p. 419.

[l] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 92. Pauſan. lib. 9, cap. 30, p. 769. Heſych. in Θεὸς Μολοττ.

[m] Scymn. Chii. Orb. Deſcript. v. 248, ap. Geograph. Min. t. i.

[n] Euripid. in Herc. Fur. v. 23. Strab. lib. 8, p. 363. Pauſan. lib. 3, p. 275. Apollod. lib. 2, p. 131. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 8, v. 368.

[o] Orph. Argon. v. 41. Virg. Georg. lib. 4, v. 467.

[p] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 252.

the infernal domains the ſpectres that diſquiet the living.

Theſe wonderful effects are produced by ſacred ceremonies. Sacrifices and libations muſt firſt be made, and prayers and myſterious forms of invocation repeated; the night muſt then be paſſed in the temple, and the ſhade of the deceaſed perſon, it is affirmed, never fails to appear in a dream [q].

Expiatory ceremonies are eſpecially performed here to appeaſe thoſe ſouls whom ſword or poiſon has ſeparated from their bodies. Thus was it that Callondas formerly repaired hither, by the command of the Pythia, to appeaſe the incenſed ſhade of the poet Archilochus, whom he had deprived of life [r]. I ſhall relate a ſtill more recent fact: Pauſanias, who commanded the Grecian army at Platæa, by a fatal miſtake, plunged his poniard in the boſom of Cleonica, whom he tenderly loved. The recollection of what he had done inceſſantly tormented him, and he continually ſaw her in his dreams, addreſſing him every night in theſe dreadful words: *Puniſhment awaits thee* [s]. He repaired to Heraclea, in Pontus, and the ſoothſayers conducted him to the cave where they call up the ſpirits of the dead, when that of Cleonica appeared to him, and told him that he ſhould find at Lace-

[q] Plut. de Conſol. t. ii. p. 109.

[r] Plut. de Serâ Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evan. lib. 5, p. 228. Suid. in Ἀρχίλ.

[s] Plut. ibid. p. 555; et in Cim. t. i. p. 482.

dæmon the end of his ſufferings. He immediately went thither, and, on his arrival, being judged guilty of crimes againſt the ſtate, he took refuge in a ſmall houſe, where all means of ſubſiſtence being denied him, he periſhed with hunger. A report was afterwards ſpread that his ſhade had been heard to groan in the ſacred places; in conſequence of which diviners were ſent for from Theſſaly, who appeaſed his ghoſt with the ceremonies cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions[t]. I relate theſe prodigies, added the prieſt; I do not warrant the truth of them. Perhaps, as it is impoſſible to inſpire too much horror for homicide, it has been wiſely ſuggeſted that the diſquietude of mind which is the conſequence of guilt is occaſioned by the cries of the ghoſts who purſue the guilty.

I know not, replied Philotas, how far the multitude ought to be entruſted with the truth, but they ought at leaſt to be guarded againſt the exceſs of error. The Theſſalians in the laſt century might have been convinced of this by melancholy experience. Their army was in ſight of that of the Phocians, who, during a light night, detached to the attack of the enemy's camp ſix hundred men, covered with plaſter. However groſs this ſtratagem, the Theſſalians, accuſtomed from their infancy to ſtories of apparitions and phantoms,

[t] Plut. de Serâ Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Id. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Alceſt. v. 1128. Bayle, Rep. aux Queſt. t. i. p. 345.

imagined theſe ſoldiers to be celeſtial genii, who had come to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians; they therefore made but a feeble reſiſtance, and ſuffered themſelves to be ſlaughtered like victims [w].

A ſimilar inſtance of ſuperſtition and credulity, replied the prieſt, formerly produced the ſame effect in our army, when in Meſſenia. The troops believed that Caſtor and Pollux had honoured with their preſence the feſtival they celebrated to thoſe deities. Two young and beautiful Meſſenians appeared at the head of the camp, mounted on ſuperb horſes, with their lances in the reſt, and clad in a white tunic, a purple mantle, and a pointed cap with a ſtar on the top; in the habit and ornaments, in ſhort, in which thoſe two heroes, the objects of our worſhip, are repreſented. They entered, and falling on the ſoldiers proſtrate at their feet, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, and retired unmoleſted [x]. The gods, irritated at this perfidy, ſoon after manifeſted their anger againſt the Meſſenians.

Is it poſſible, cried I, that you Lacedæmonians ſhould mention the word perfidy; you who have been guilty of ſuch flagrant injuſtice, and who are polluted with the blackeſt crimes of ambition! I had conceived a high idea of your laws, but your

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[w] Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 27. Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 1, p. 801. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6, cap. 18.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 27, p. 344.

wars in Meſſenia have fixed an indelible ſtain on your nation. Have you, anſwered he, received an impartial account of them and their origin? If you have, it is the firſt time that the vanquiſhed have done juſtice to their conquerors. Liſten to me a moment.

When the deſcendants of Hercules returned into Peloponneſus, Creſphontes obtained by ſurpriſe the throne of Meſſenia[y]. He was aſſaſſinated ſome time after, and his children, taking refuge at Lacedæmon, gave up to us the rights they inherited from their father. Though the validity of this ceſſion was confirmed by the oracle of Delphi[z], we long neglected to enforce our claims.

In the reign of Teleclus we ſent, according to ancient uſage, a number of maidens, under the conduct of that prince, to preſent offerings at the temple of Diana Limnatis, ſituated on the confines of Meſſenia and Laconia. They were violated by ſome young Meſſenians, and killed themſelves rather than ſurvive their ſhame; the king himſelf loſt his life in endeavouring to defend them[a]. The Meſſenians, to juſtify ſo vile a crime, had recourſe to the moſt abſurd pretences, and Lacedæmon overlooked the injury rather than break the peace; till new inſults having exhauſted her patience[b],

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[y] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 3 et 4.
[z] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 20.
[a] Strab. lib. 8, p. 362. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 4, p. 288.
[b] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 4 et 5.

ſhe claimed her rights, and commenced hoſtilities. This was leſs a war of ambition than vengeance, as you may yourſelf judge from the oath by which the young Spartans engaged never to return to their country till they had ſubjugated Meſſenia, and by the ardour with which even our old men promoted the enterpriſe [c].

After the firſt war, the laws of Greece authorized us to make ſlaves of the vanquiſhed; but we were contented with impoſing on them a tribute. Their frequent revolts obliged us, after having conquered them in a ſecond war, to load them with chains, and, after a third, to baniſh them from our neighbourhood. Our conduct appeared ſo conformable to the laws of nations, that, in the treaties prior to the battle of Leuctra, neither the Greeks nor Perſians ever propoſed to us to reſtore liberty to Meſſenia [d]. You will remember that I am a miniſter of peace. If my country is forced to take arms, I lament the occaſion; and if ſhe is guilty of injuſtice, I condemn her conduct. When war commences, I ſhudder at the calamities about to fall on my fellow mortals, and I aſk why they are cruel; but it is the ſecret of the gods, and it behoves us to adore and be ſilent.

We left Tænarus, after having viſited in its environs ſome quarries from which is dug a black

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[c] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 4 et 5. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 4.
[d] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 24.

ſtone as valuable as marble[e]. We proceed to Gythium, a city ſurrounded with walls, and very ſtrong; with an excellent harbour in which the fleets of Lacedæmon ride ſecure, and find every requiſite for their maintenance and ſafety[f]. It is diſtant from the city thirty ſtadia[g].

The hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians has rendered the ſmall diſtrict they inhabit ſo renowned, that we viſited the ſmalleſt villages and the moſt inconſiderable towns, both in the environs of the gulph of Laconia, and in the inland country. We were every where ſhewn temples, ſtatues, columns, and other monuments, the greater part of rude workmanſhip, and ſome of venerable antiquity[h]. In the gymnaſium of Aſopus our attention was engaged by human bones of a prodigious ſize[i].

Having returned to the banks of the Eurotas, we aſcended it through a valley which it waters[k], and afterwards through the middle of a plain which extends to the city of Lacedæmon. On our right we had the river, and on our left Mount Taygetus, at the foot of which Nature has hollowed out in the rock a number of ſpacious caverns[l].

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[e] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 18, t. ii. p. 748. Id. ibid. cap. 22, p. 752. Strab. lib. 8, p. 367.
[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 609. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 29.
[g] Polyb. lib. 5, p. 367.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 22, p. 265.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 267.
[k] Strab. lib. 8, p. 343. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 28.
[l] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 75.

At Bryſeæ we found a temple of Bacchus, which men are forbidden to enter, women alone being permitted to ſacrifice in it, and to perform certain ceremonies which it is not lawful for them to reveal[m]. We had before ſeen a city of Laconia where women are excluded from the ſacrifices offered to the god Mars[n]. From Bryſeæ we were ſhewn, on the ſummit of a neighbouring mountain, a place named the Taletum, where, among other animals, horſes were ſacrificed to the ſun[o]. Farther on the inhabitants of a ſmall town boaſted that they were the firſt inventors of mills to grind corn[p].

We ſoon after came in ſight of the town of Amyclæ, ſituated on the right bank of the Eurotas, and diſtant from Lacedæmon about twenty ſtadia[q]. We there ſaw on a column the ſtatue of an athleta who expired the inſtant after he had received the crown beſtowed on him as victor at the Olympic games. Around this ſtatue were ſeveral tripods, conſecrated by the Lacedæmonians to different divinities, in memory of the victories they had gained over the Athenians and Meſſenians[r].

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[m] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20, p. 261.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 22, p. 267.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 261.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 260.
[q] Polyb. lib. 5, p. 367.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 18, p. 254.

We were impatient to viſit the temple of Apollo, one of the moſt famous in Greece. The ſtatue of the god, in height about thirty cubits[s]*, is of rude workmanſhip, and ſomewhat in the taſte of the Egyptians. It might be taken for a pillar of braſs, to which had been faſtened a head with a helmet, two hands, armed with a bow and lance, and two feet, the extremities of which only appear. The ſtatue is of very high antiquity, and, in ſucceeding times, was placed by an artiſt named Bathycles, on a baſe, in form of an altar, in a throne ſupported by the Hours and Graces. The ſame artiſt has ornamented the faces of the baſe and every part of the throne with bas-reliefs, which repreſent ſo many different ſubjects, and contain ſo great a number of figures, that it is impoſſible to deſcribe them without being diſguſtingly tedious.

The temple is ſerved by prieſteſſes, the principal of whom takes the title of mother. After her death, her name, and the years during which ſhe exerciſed her functions, are engraven on marble. We were ſhewn the tablets which contain this ſeries of epochas ſo precious to chronology, and we read in them the name of Laodamia, the daughter of Amyclas, who reigned in this country more

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[s] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 19, p. 257.

* About 42½ French (or 45 Engliſh) feet.

than a thouſand years ſince [t]. Other inſcriptions, depoſited here to render them more venerable, contain treaties between ſtates [u], ſeveral decrees of the Lacedæmonians relative to religious ceremonies or military expeditions, and vows addreſſed to the god by ſovereigns or individuals [x].

Not far from the temple of Apollo is another temple, the building of which is not more than ſeventeen feet long by ten and a half broad [y]. Five rude ſtones of a black colour, and five feet thick, compoſe the four walls and the roof, on which are laid two other ſtones retiring inwards. The edifice ſtands on three ſteps, each of a ſingle ſtone. Above the entrance are engraven, in very ancient characters, theſe words: EUROTAS KING OF THE ICTEUCRATES TO ONGA. This prince lived about three centuries before the Trojan war. The name of Icteucrates ſignifies the ancient inhabitants of Laconia [z], and that of Onga, a divinity of Phœnicia or Egypt, the ſame, as is ſuppoſed, with the Minerva of the Greeks [a].

This edifice, which we more than once recol-

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[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 406.

[u] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 18 et 28.

[x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395; t. xvi. Hiſt. p. 101. Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

[y] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 402.

[z] Heſych. in Ἰκλευκῆς.

[a] Steph. in Ὄγκ. Heſych. in Ὄγγα. Æſchyl. in Sept. contra Theb. v. 170. Schol. ibid. et in v. 493. Sand. de Diis Syr. Syntag. 2, cap. 4. Boch. Geog. Sacr. part. 2, lib. 2, cap. 12, p. 745.

lected during our travels in Egypt, is prior by many centuries to the moſt ancient in Greece. After having admired its ſimplicity and ſolidity, we ſunk into a kind of thoughtfulneſs, of which we afterwards endeavoured to inveſtigate the cauſe. It is only, ſaid Philotas, the attention of ſurpriſe. We reflect on the number of ages which have elapſed ſince the foundation of this temple, with the ſame aſtoniſhment with which, when arrived at the foot of a mountain, we have often meaſured with our eyes its ſtupendous height. The extent of duration produces the ſame effect as that of ſpace. Yet, replied I, the one leaves in our minds an impreſſion of melancholy that we never experience from the other. Is it not in reality becauſe we are more intimately connected with duration than with greatneſs? All theſe ancient ruins are the trophies of deſtroying time, and, in deſpite of ourſelves, enforce our attention to the inſtability of all human things. Here, for example, an inſcription has preſented to us the name of a people of whom neither you nor I had any knowledge. They have diſappeared, and this ſmall temple is the only teſtimony that they have exiſted, the only fragment that has remained of their wreck.

Smiling meadows [b] and lofty trees embelliſh the environs of Amyclæ. The fruits there are excel-

[b] Stat. Theb. lib. 9, v. 769. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 28.

lent[c]. It is a very agreeable place of abode, tolerably populous, and always full of ſtrangers[d] attracted by the ſplendour of the feſtivals, or by motives of religion. We left it to proceed to Lacedæmon.

We took up our reſidence at the houſe of Damonax, to whom we had been recommended by Xenophon. Philotas found there letters which obliged him to depart the next day for Athens. I ſhall not ſpeak of Lacedæmon till I have given a general idea of the province of Laconia.

It is bounded to the eaſt and ſouth by the ſea, to the weſt and the north by high mountains, or by hills which deſcend from them, and form between them pleaſant valleys. The mountains to the weſt are named Taygetus. From ſome of their ſummits, which riſe above the clouds[e], the eye may ſurvey the whole of Peloponneſus[f]. Their ſides, almoſt every where covered with woods, are the aſylum of a great number of goats, bears, wild-boars, and ſtags[g].

Nature, which has here delighted to multiply theſe ſpecies of animals, ſeems alſo to have produced, purpoſely to deſtroy them, certain races of dogs, which are every where in great eſtima-

[c] Polyb. lib. 5, p. 367.
[d] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.
[e] Stat. Theb. lib. 2, v. 35.
[f] Schol. Pind. in Nem. 10, v. 114.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20, p. 261.

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tion [h], and eſpecially valuable for hunting the wild boar [i]. They are ſwift, ſpirited, impetuous [k], and endowed with an exquiſite ſcent [l]. The females poſſeſs theſe qualities in the higheſt degree [m]; and they alſo have another advantage, for they live, in general, nearly twelve years, while the males ſeldom live longer than ten [n]. To produce a breed more ardent and courageous, they are coupled with Moloſſian dogs [o]; and it is affirmed that they ſometimes will of themſelves couple with foxes [p], and that from this mixture is generated a race of weak and ugly dogs, with thin ſhort hair, a pointed noſe, and inferior in quality to the others [q].

Among the dogs of Laconia, the black ſpotted with white are remarkable for their beauty [r], the fallow [s] for their ſagacity, and the Caſtorides and Menelaides for bearing the names of Caſtor and Menelaus, who multiplied their breed [t]. For the

[h] Theophraſt. Charact. cap. 5. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. p. 1822. Meurſ. Miſcel. Lacon. lib. 3, cap. 1.
[i] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 991.
[k] Callim. Hymn. in Dian. v. 94. Senec. Trag. in Hippol. v. 35. Virg. Georg. lib. 3, v. 405.
[l] Plat. in Parmen. t. iii. p. 128. Ariſtot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 5, t. i. cap. 2, p. 1139. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 8.
[m] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9, cap. 1, t. i. p. 922.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 20, p. 878. Plin. lib. 10, cap. 63, t. i. p. 578.
[o] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 9, cap. 1, p. 922.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 28, p. 920. Heſych. in Κυναλώπ. Poll. lib. 5, cap. 5, § 39.
[q] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 976. Themiſt. Orat. 21, p. 248.
[r] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 199.
[s] Horat. Epod. od. 6, v. 5.
[t] Poll. lib. 5, cap. 5, § 38.

chace was anciently the amuſement of heroes, after it had ceaſed to be to them a labour of neceſſity. They were at firſt forced to defend themſelves againſt ferocious animals, which they ſoon compelled to take refuge in wild and uncultivated regions. When they were no longer in danger from theſe, rather than languiſh in indolence, they ſought new enemies for the pleaſure of combating them: the blood of the innocent dove was ſhed, and the chace became their favourite diverſion, ſince it preſented to them the image of war.

On the land ſide Laconia is of difficult acceſs [u]. It can only be entered over ſteep hills and through defiles eaſy to defend [x]. At Lacedæmon the plain widens [y]; and, advancing toward the ſouth, we find ſome fertile diſtricts [z]; though, in certain places, on account of the inequality of the ground, cultivation requires great labour [a]. Through the plain [b] are ſcattered a number of eminences, raiſed by the hand of man, and more frequently found in this country than in the neighbouring provinces. They were conſtructed before the birth of the arts,

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[u] Eurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8, p. 366. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 607.

[x] Xenoph. ibid. Polyb. lib. 2, p. 150. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 28; lib. 35, cap. 27.

[y] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 31.

[z] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Polyb. lib. 5, p. 367.

[a] Eurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8, p. 366.

[b] Athen. lib. 14, cap. 5, p. 625.

and intended for the tombs of the principal chiefs of the nation *. According to all appearance, like heaps of earth, raiſed for ſimilar purpoſes, were afterwards ſucceeded, in Egypt, by the pyramids. Thus is it that in every age and country the pride of man has conſtantly aſſociated itſelf with his inſignificance and annihilation.

As to the productions of Laconia, we ſhall obſerve that we find there a number of plants uſeful in medicine [c], as alſo a light kind of corn which affords little nouriſhment [d]; that fig-trees there muſt be frequently watered, without fear of injuring the quality of the fruit [e]; that figs ripen ſooner there than in other countries [f]; and, laſtly, that, on all the coaſts of Laconia, as well as on thoſe of Cythera, a conſiderable fiſhery is carried on, of that kind of ſhell-fiſh from which is obtained a much eſteemed purple dye [g] approaching to a roſe colour [h].

Laconia is ſubject to earthquakes [i]. It is aſſerted that it formerly contained a hundred cities [k];

* Similar hills are found in many countries inhabited by the ancient Germans.

[c] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 367.

[d] Id. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 4, p. 932.

[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 92.

[f] Id. de Cauſ. Plant. ap. Athen. lib. 3, p. 77. Plin. lib. 16, cap. 26, t. ii. p. 20.

[g] Ariſtot. ap. Steph. in Κύθηρ. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 264. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 12, t. i. p. 208.

[h] Plin. lib. 21, cap. 8.

[i] Strab. lib. 8, p. 367. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 294.

[k] Strab. ibid. p. 362. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 419.

but this was at a time when the moſt inconſiderable town aſſumed that title: all we can ſay at preſent is, that it is extremely populous[l]. The Eurotas traverſes it through its whole extent, and receives the ſtreams, or rather the torrents, which deſcend from the neighbouring mountains. During a great part of the year this river cannot be forded[m]; but it every where flows in a narrow channel, and, when at the higheſt, its merit is that it has more depth than breadth.

At certain ſeaſons it is covered with ſwans of a dazzling whiteneſs[n], and it almoſt every where abounds with reeds in great requeſt, becauſe they are ſtraight, tall, and of different colours[o]. Among other purpoſes for which they are employed, the Lacedæmonians make mats of them, and crown themſelves with them at certain feſtivals[p]. I remember, on this occaſion, that an Athenian, one day declaiming againſt the folly of men, ſaid to me: A feeble reed is all that is neceſſary to ſubject, to inſtruct, and to ſooth them. I requeſted him to explain himſelf, and he added: Of this frail material are made arrows, pens to write with, and inſtruments of muſic[q]*.

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[l] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66. Polyb. lib. 2, p. 125.
[m] Polyb. lib. 5, p. 369.
[n] Stat. Sylv. lib. 1, v. 143. Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 97.
[o] Euripid. in Hel. v. 355 et 500. Theogn. Sent. v. 783. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 12, p. 470.
[p] Soſib. ap. Athen. lib. 15, p. 674.
[q] Plin. lib. 16, cap. 36, t. ii. p. 27.
* Flutes were commonly made of reeds.

To the right of the Eurotas, at a ſmall diſtance from the river [r], is the city of Lacedæmon, otherwiſe named Sparta. It is not ſurrounded with walls [s]; its only defence is the valour of its inhabitants [t], and ſome eminences, on which ſoldiers may be poſted in caſe of an attack [u]. The higheſt of theſe eminences ſerves as a citadel: its ſummit is a ſpacious flat ground, on which are erected ſeveral ſacred edifices [x].

Around this hill are ranged five towns, ſeparated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each occupied by one of the five tribes of Spartans *. Such is the city of Lacedæmon, the quarters of which are not joined like thoſe of Athens [y]. Formerly the cities of Peloponneſus were only compoſed of villages, which were afterwards united by including them within one common encloſure [z] †.

The great ſquare, or forum, in which ſeveral ſtreets terminate, is embelliſhed with temples and ſtatues. It likewiſe contains the edifices in which

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[r] Polyb. lib. 5, p. 369.

[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 608. Id. in Ageſ. p. 662. Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 6. Liv. lib. 39, cap. 37.

[t] Juſtin. lib. 14, cap. 5.

[u] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 613. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 38.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 250.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 10.

[z] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8, p. 337. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 40.

† See the plan of Lacedæmon, and the note at the end of the volume.

the ſenate, the ephori, and other bodies of magiſtrates, aſſemble [a]; as alſo a portico which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Platæa, at the expence of the vanquiſhed, whoſe ſpoils they had ſhared. The roof is not ſupported by columns, but by gigantic ſtatues, repreſenting Perſians habited in flowing robes [b]. The other parts of the city likewiſe preſent us with a great number of monuments in honour of the gods and ancient heroes.

On the higheſt of the eminences ſtands a temple of Minerva, which has the privilege of aſylum, as likewiſe has the grove which ſurrounds it, and a ſmall houſe appertaining to it, in which the king Pauſanias [c] was left to expire with hunger. This was reſented by the goddeſs as a profanation, and the oracle commanded the Lacedæmonians to erect to that prince two ſtatues which are ſtill ſeen near the altar [d]. The temple was built with braſs [e], as formerly was that of Delphi [f]. Within are engraven, in bas relief, the labours of Hercules, the achievements of the Tyndarides, and various groups of figures [g]. To the right of this edifice

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[a] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 231.
[b] Vitruv. lib. 1, cap. 1.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 134.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 253.
[e] Thucyd. ibid. Liv. lib. 35, cap. 36. Suid. in Χαλχ.
[f] Pauſan. lib. 10, cap. 5, p. 810.
[g] Id. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 250.

is a ſtatue of Jupiter, perhaps the moſt ancient ſtatue of braſs exiſting. It is of the ſame date with the re-eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and is only an aſſemblage of pieces fitted to each other, and faſtened together with pins [h].

The tombs of the two reigning families at Lacedæmon are in two different quarters [i]. We every where meet with heroic monuments, which is the name given to edifices and groves conſecrated to ancient heroes [k]. There ſacred rites perpetuate and honour the memory of Hercules, Tyndarus, Caſtor, Pollux, Menelaus, with a number of others more or leſs known to hiſtory, and more or leſs deſerving to be known. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the anſwers of oracles, formerly obtained them theſe diſtinctions; but the moſt noble motives have united to raiſe a temple to Lycurgus [l].

Similar honours were afterwards more rarely beſtowed. I have ſeen columns and ſtatues erected for Spartans crowned at the Olympic games [m], but never for the conquerors of the enemies of their country. Statues may be decreed to wreſtlers, but

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[h] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 17, p. 251.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 237; cap. 14, p. 240.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 230, &c.
[l] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66. Pauſan. ibid. cap. 16, p. 248. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 240; cap. 14, p. 241; cap. 18, p. 254.

the public eſteem ſhould be the reward of ſoldiers. Among all thoſe who during the laſt century ſignalized their valour againſt the Perſians or againſt the Athenians, four or five only received funeral honours in the city, and it is probable that this diſtinction was not granted them without difficulty. In fact, it was not till forty years after the death of Leonidas, that his bones were conveyed to Lacedæmon, and depoſited in a tomb near the theatre; then alſo was it that the names of the three hundred Spartans who had fallen with that immortal man were, for the firſt time, inſcribed on a column [n].

The greater part of the monuments I have mentioned inſpire the more reverence, as they diſplay no oſtentation, and are almoſt all of a rude workmanſhip. In other cities I have frequently detected my admiration wholly directed to the artiſt, but at Lacedæmon it was entirely engroſſed by the hero. An unſhapen ſtone ſufficed to recall him to my memory; but that remembrance was ever accompanied with a ſplendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houſes at Lacedæmon are ſmall, and without ornament. Halls and porticos have been erected, to which the citizens reſort to converſe together or tranſact buſineſs [o]. On the ſouth ſide

[n] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 240.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 14 et 15.

of the city is the hippodromus, or courſe for foot and horſe races [p]; and, at a little diſtance from that, the plataniſtas, or place of exerciſe for youth, ſhaded by beautiful plane trees, and encloſed by the Eurotas on one ſide, a ſmall river which falls into it on the other, and a canal by which they communicate on the third. It is entered by two bridges, on one of which is the ſtatue of Hercules, or all ſubduing force; and on the other that of Lycurgus, or all regulating law [q].

From this ſlight ſketch we may judge of the ſurpriſe which muſt be felt by an admirer of the arts, who, invited to Lacedæmon by the fame its inhabitants have acquired, ſhould only find, inſtead of a magnificent city, ſome poor villages; inſtead of ſumptuous houſes, obſcure cottages; and inſtead of impetuous and turbulent warriors, men of a peaceable diſpoſition, and commonly wrapt in a coarſe cloak. But how would his ſurpriſe increaſe, when Sparta, better known, ſhould offer to his admiration one of the greateſt of men, and one of the moſt noble of the works of man; Lycurgus and his inſtitutions!

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[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 608. Liv. lib. 34, cap. 27.
[q] Pauſan. cap. 14, p. 242. Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 919.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Inhabitants of Laconia.

THE deſcendants of Hercules, ſupported by a body of Dorians, having poſſeſſed themſelves of Laconia, reſided there undiſtinguiſhed from the ancient inhabitants of the country. A ſhort time after, they impoſed on them a tribute, and deprived them of a part of their rights. The cities which ſubmitted to their will preſerved their liberty: that of Helos reſiſted, but, being ſoon overcome, its inhabitants were reduced to a condition little differing from ſlavery [r].

Diſſenſions afterwards took place among the Spartans, and the moſt powerful drove out the weaker party into the country or the neighbouring towns [s]. A diſtinction is ſtill made between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and thoſe of the province, and between both theſe and that prodigious number of ſlaves who are diſperſed through the country.

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[r] Strab. lib. 8, p. 365. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 40.
[s] Iſocr. Panathen. t. ii. p. 274.

The former, who are often called Spartans, form that body of warriors on whom depends the fate of Laconia. Their number, it is ſaid, anciently amounted to ten thouſand [t]. In the time of Xerxes it was eight thouſand [u]. The late wars have ſo reduced them that we now find very few ancient families at Sparta [x]. I have ſometimes ſeen not leſs than four thouſand perſons in the forum, among whom I could ſcarcely diſcover forty Spartans, even including the two kings, the ephori, and the ſenators [y].

The greater part of the new families are deſcended from Helots, who have been firſt rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizens. They are not called Spartans, but have various names according to the difference of the privileges they have obtained, all of which intimate their former condition [z].

Three great men, Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lyſander, born in this claſs [a], were educated with the children of Spartans, as are all the ſons of the freed Helots [b]; but it was not till they had ſig-

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[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 329.
[u] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 234.
[x] Ariſtot. ibid. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.
[y] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 494.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 34. Id. lib. 7, cap. 58. Heſych. in Νεοδαμ. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 8, § 83.
[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 43.
[b] Athen. lib. 6, cap. 20, p. 271. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 6. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 1, cap. 5.

nalized themſelves by great ſervices that they were admitted to all the rights of citizens.

The title and privileges of a citizen were formerly rarely granted, except to thoſe who were born of parents both Spartans [c]. They are an indiſpenſable qualification for the offices of magiſtracy, and the command of the army [d]. But a part of theſe privileges may be loſt by a flagitious action. The government is in general watchful over the preſervation of thoſe who are inveſted with them, and particularly careful of the lives of the Spartans by birth. Lacedæmon has been known, in order to recover ſome of them who were blocked up in an iſland by the Athenian fleet, to ſue to Athens for a diſgraceful peace, and ſacrifice her navy to her rival [e]. But a ſmall number of them are ever expoſed to the dangers of war. In theſe latter times the kings Ageſilaus and Ageſipolis frequently had not more than thirty of that claſs of citizens with them in their expeditions [f].

Notwithſtanding the loſs of their ancient privileges, the cities of Laconia form a confederation, the object of which is to unite their forces in war, and to maintain their rights in time of peace. When the intereſts of the whole ſtate are to be

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[c] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 33. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2, cap. 17, t. i. p. 270.

[d] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

[e] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 15 et 19.

[f] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 496; lib. 5, p. 562.

diſcuſſed, they ſend their deputies to the general aſſembly, which is always held at Sparta [g]. There are ſettled the contributions which each city ſhall pay, and the number of troops it ſhall furniſh.

The inhabitants of theſe cities do not receive the ſame education as thoſe of the capital. Their manners are more rude [h], and their courage leſs conſpicuous. Hence is it that the city of Sparta has obtained the ſame aſcendance over the other cities of Laconia, as the city of Elis over thoſe of the diſtrict of Elis [i], and that of Thebes over thoſe of Bœotia. This ſuperiority excites their jealouſy and hatred [k]. In one of the expeditions of Epaminondas, ſeveral of them joined their forces to thoſe of the Thebans [l].

There are more domeſtic ſlaves at Lacedæmon than in any other city of Greece [m]. They ſerve their maſters at table [n], dreſs them and undreſs them [o], execute their orders, and preſerve cleanlineſs in the houſe. In the army a great number are employed to carry the baggage [p]. As the La-

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g Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 579.
h Liv. lib. 34, cap. 27.
i Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 31.
k Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 494.
l Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 607 et 609.
m Thucyd. lib. 8, cap. 40.
n Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 11, cap. 3, p. 463.
o Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 633.
p Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 586.

cedæmonian women muſt not labour, they employ female ſervants to ſpin wool [q].

The Helots have received their name from the city of Helos [r]. They muſt not be confounded, as they have been by ſome authors [s], with the ſlaves properly ſo called [t]. They rather occupy a middle ſtate between ſlaves and free citizens [u].

A particular kind of dreſs, a cap made of ſkin, ſevere treatment, and ſentences of death frequently pronounced againſt them on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, inceſſantly remind them of their condition [x]; but their ſervile ſituation is recompenſed by real advantages. Like the vaſſals of Theſſaly [y], they farm the lands of the Spartans; and that they may be attached to the ſervice of their maſters by the allurement of gain, they are only required to pay a rent which has long been fixed, and is by no means equal to the produce; and this rent it would be conſidered as diſgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increaſe [z].

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[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.
[r] Hellan. ap. Harpocr. in Εἵλωτ. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20, p. 261.
[s] Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 23.
[t] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 122.
[u] Poll. lib. 3, cap. 8, § 83.
[x] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14, p. 657.
[y] Suid. et Harpocr. in Πενέ.
[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 216. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 289. Myron. ibid.

Some of them employ themſelves in the mechanical arts with ſo much ſucceſs, that the keys [a], beds, tables, and chairs, that are made at Lacedæmon, are every where in the greateſt requeſt [b]. The Helots likewiſe ſerve as ſailors on board the fleet [c]; and in the army every oplites, or heavy armed ſoldier, is accompanied by one or more of them [d]. At the battle of Platæa every Spartan had ſeven of them to attend him [e].

In times of imminent danger they have been encouraged to exert themſelves by the hope of liberty [f], which numerous bodies of them have ſometimes obtained for their ſervices [g]. This benefit they can only receive from the ſtate, becauſe they belong more to that than the citizens whoſe lands they cultivate; and hence is it that the latter can neither give them their freedom, nor ſell them into foreign countries [h]. Their enfranchiſement is performed by a public ceremony, in which they are led from one temple to another, crowned with flowers, and expoſed to the ſight of the people [i].

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[a] Ariſtoph. in Theſmoph. v. 430. Biſſet. ibid.
[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.
[c] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 615.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 8.
[e] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 10 et 28. Plut. in Ariſt. t. i. p. 325. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 871.
[f] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 26. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 608.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 34. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 124.
[h] Strab. lib. 8, p. 365. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 80. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

They are afterwards permitted to dreſs in what manner they pleaſe[k], and by new ſervices may be raiſed to the rank of citizens.

From the time they were firſt ſubjected, theſe vaſſals, impatient of their ſervitude, had often endeavoured to break their yoke; but when the Meſſenians, after having been conquered by the Lacedæmonians, were reduced to the ſame diſgraceful condition[l], revolts became more frequent[m]. Excepting a ſmall number who remained faithful[n], the reſt, placed as it were in ambuſcade, in the midſt of the ſtate, took advantage of its misfortunes to ſeize on an important poſt[o], or to go over to the enemy. The government endeavoured to retain them in their duty by rewards, but more often by the moſt cruel ſeverities. It is even ſaid that, on a certain occaſion, two thouſand of them, who had given proofs of too much courage, ſuddenly diſappeared, and that it was never known in what manner they periſhed[p]. Other inſtances of

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[k] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 34.

[l] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 297; cap. 23, p. 335. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1.

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 333. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 435.

[n] Heſych. in Ἀργεῖοι.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 339.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 117. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

barbarity

barbarity[q], no leſs execrable*, are recorded, and have given occaſion to the proverb, that, "at Sparta, the free man is the freeſt of all men, and the ſlave the greateſt of ſlaves[r]." I have never been a witneſs to theſe ſeverities; I have only ſeen that the Spartans and the Helots, full of mutual diſtruſt, obſerve each other with fear; and that the former, to make themſelves obeyed, have recourſe to ſeverities which circumſtances ſeem to render neceſſary. For the Helots are extremely difficult to govern; their number, their courage, and eſpecially their riches, render them daring and inſolent[s]; and hence it is that intelligent authors are divided with reſpect to this ſpecies of ſlavery, which ſome condemn, and others approve[t].

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[q] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14, p. 657.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.
[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 318.
[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 776.

CHAP. XLIII.

General Ideas on the Legiſlation of Lycurgus.

I HAD been ſome days at Sparta, where my appearance excited no ſurpriſe, the law which formerly rendered it difficult for ſtrangers to enter the country being no longer enforced with the ſame rigour. I was introduced to the two princes then on the throne; theſe were Cleomenes, grandſon of the king Cleombrotus who was killed at the battle of Leuctra, and Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus. Both were men of underſtanding: the former loved peace; the latter breathed only war, and enjoyed great credit and influence. I likewiſe knew that Antalcidas, who about thirty years before, had negotiated a treaty between Greece and Perſia. But, of all the Spartans, Damonax, at whoſe houſe I lodged, appeared to me the moſt communicative and intelligent. He had travelled in foreign countries, but was not the leſs acquainted with his own.

One day, when I overwhelmed him with queſtions, he ſaid to me: To judge of our laws by our

preſent manners, would be to judge of the beauty of an edifice by a heap of ruins. Let us then, replied I, place ourſelves at that point of time when they flouriſhed in their full vigour: do you think we ſhall thus be able to diſcover their true connection and ſpirit? do you imagine it can be eaſy to juſtify the extraordinary and whimſical regulations they contain? Reverence, replied he, the work of a genius whoſe views, ever new and profound, only appear extravagant, becauſe thoſe of other legiſlators are too timid and bounded. They were contented to adapt their laws to the character of their people: Lycurgus, by his, gave a new character to the nation for which he framed them. They have departed from Nature, while they believed themſelves to approach her; but he became more cloſely united to her the more he appeared to wander from her.

A ſound body and a free mind are all that Nature requires to render happy man in ſolitude. Theſe therefore are the advantages which, according to Lycurgus, ought to be made the foundation of our happineſs. You already conceive why he has forbidden us to marry our daughters at a premature age; why they are not brought up beneath the ſhade of their ruſtic roofs, but expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun, in the duſt of the gymnaſium, and habituated to the exerciſes of wreſtling, running, and throwing the javelin and

diſcus [w]. As they were to give healthy and vigorous citizens to the ſtate, it was neceſſary that they ſhould acquire a ſound and ſtrong conſtitution, that they might tranſmit the ſame to their children.

You alſo conceive why our children at their birth undergo a ſolemn examination, and are condemned to periſh if they are found of a bad conformation of body [x]. Of what uſe, indeed, would they be to the ſtate, or what comfort could they derive from life, if they only dragged on a painful and weariſome exiſtence?

From our moſt early infancy, an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of labours and combats beſtows on our bodies agility, ſuppleneſs, and ſtrength; and a ſtrict regimen prevents or diſpels the maladies to which we are liable. All artificial wants are here unknown, and the laws have been careful to provide for all real ones. Thoſe objects of terror, hunger, thirſt, pain, and death, are viewed by us with an indifference which philoſophy ſeeks to imitate in vain. The moſt rigid ſects have never been able to manifeſt that contempt for pain with which it is treated even by children at Sparta.

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[w] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675 et 676. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77.

[x] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49.

But theſe men to whom Lycurgus has wiſhed to reſtore the bleſſings of nature, cannot, perhaps, be expected long to enjoy them; they will approach and aſſociate with each other; paſſions will take birth, and the edifice of their happineſs be overthrown in an inſtant. Here is it that we behold the triumph of genius. Lycurgus knew that a violent paſſion ſubjugates all the others. He therefore will give us the love of our country [y], in all its energy, its plenitude, its tranſports, nay even its delirium. This love ſhall be ſo ardent and ſo imperious that in it ſhall concentre all the intereſts and all the emotions of our hearts. Then ſhall there remain in the ſtate but one will, and by conſequence one ſpirit; for, in fact, wherever there is but one ſentiment, there is but one idea.

Throughout the reſt of Greece [z], the children of the free man are confided to the care of the man who is not, or deſerves not, to be free. But ſlaves and mercenaries may not aſpire to educate Spartans. Our country herſelf takes upon her this important charge. She leaves us, during the firſt years of our infancy, in the hands of our parents; but no ſooner does reaſon dawn, than ſhe loudly aſſerts the rights ſhe has over us. Until that moment her ſacred name had never been pro-

[y] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

nounced in our preſence without the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of love and reſpect; and now her eyes ſeek us and follow us every where. From her hand we receive our nouriſhment and clothing; and by her injunction is it that the magiſtrates, the aged men, and all the citizens, are preſent at our ſports, diſcover inquietude at our faults, endeavour to develop ſome germ of virtue in our words or actions, and in fine teach us, by their tender ſolicitude, that the ſtate poſſeſſes nothing it holds ſo precious as ourſelves; and that, now the children of our country, we are one day to become her conſolation and her glory.

How is it poſſible that attentions which deſcend on us from ſuch an elevation, ſhould not make on our ſouls profound and durable impreſſions? How is it poſſible not to adore a conſtitution which, promoting our intereſts both by ſovereign goodneſs and ſupreme power, ſo early gives us ſuch an exalted idea of ourſelves?

From this lively intereſt which our country takes in us, and from this tender affection which we begin to conceive for her, naturally reſults, on her ſide, an extreme ſeverity, and on ours an implicit ſubmiſſion. Lycurgus, nevertheleſs, not contented to confine himſelf to the natural order of things, has made an obligation of our ſentiments. No where are the laws ſo imperious or ſo well obſerved, or the magiſtrates leſs indulgent or more

reſpected. This happy harmony, abſolutely neceſſary to retain in ſubjection men educated in the contempt of death, is the fruit of that education which is no other than the apprenticeſhip of obedience, and, if I may venture the expreſſion, the tactics of all the virtues. During that we learn, that without order there can be neither courage, honour, or liberty; and that order cannot be maintained, unleſs we are maſters of our will. Hence ſo many leſſons, examples, painful ſacrifices, and minute obſervances, that all concur to procure us this empire over ourſelves, which is no leſs difficult to preſerve than to obtain.

One of the principal magiſtrates keeps us continually aſſembled under his eye. Should he be obliged to abſent himſelf for a moment, any citizen may ſupply his place, and put himſelf at our head [a]. So eſſential is it forcibly to impreſs our imagination with a reverence for authority.

Our duties increaſe with our years, and the nature of the inſtructions we receive is proportioned to the progreſs of our reaſon; while the riſing paſſions are either repreſſed by the multiplicity of exerciſes, or ably directed towards objects uſeful to the ſtate.

At the time when theſe paſſions begin to diſplay their violence, we never appear in public but in

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.

ſilence, with modeſty in our countenances, our eyes caſt down, and our hands concealed in our mantles [b]; in the attitude, in fine, and with the gravity of Egyptian prieſts, and as if newly initiated in, and ſet apart for, the miniſtry of virtue.

The love of their country muſt introduce a ſpirit of union among the citizens, and the deſire of pleaſing and benefiting that country the ſpirit of emulation. Here this union will not be diſturbed by thoſe ſtorms which are elſewhere its deſtruction. Lycurgus has ſecured us from almoſt all the ſources of jealouſy, becauſe he has rendered almoſt every thing common and equal among the Spartans.

We are every day aſſembled at public repaſts, at which decency and frugality preſide. By this regulation both want and exceſs, and the vices which are the conſequence of theſe, are baniſhed from the houſes of individuals [c].

I am permitted, when circumſtances require, to make uſe of the ſlaves, carriages, horſes, or whatever elſe appertains to another citizen [d]; and this ſpecies of community of goods is ſo general, that it, in ſome meaſure, extends to our wives and children [e]. Hence, if unfruitful bonds unite an

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[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
[d] Xenoph. ibid. 681. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 317.
[e] Plut, ibid. p. 50. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

old man to a young woman, the obligation preſcribed to the former to chooſe a young man diſtinguiſhed for the beauties of his perſon and the qualities of his mind, to introduce him to his bed, and adopt the fruits of this new union [f]. Hence alſo, if an unmarried man wiſhes to have an offspring in whom he may ſurvive, the permiſſion granted him to borrow the wife of his friend, and to have by her children, which the huſband brings up with his own, though they never ſhare in the inheritance [g]. On the other ſide, if my ſon ſhould dare to complain of having been inſulted by any perſon, I ſhould conclude him culpable, and ſhould chaſtiſe him a ſecond time, for having rebelled againſt that paternal authority which is divided among all the citizens [h].

In depriving us of that property which produces ſo many diviſions among men, Lycurgus was but the more attentive to favour emulation, which was become neceſſary to prevent the diſguſt which muſt enſue from too perfect an union, to fill up that void which the exemption from domeſtic cares [i] had left in the mind, to animate us during war and during peace, at every moment, and in every period of life.

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[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[g] Xenoph. ibid.
[h] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 239.

This deſire of preference and ſuperiority, which ſo early manifeſts itſelf in youth, is conſidered as the germ of a uſeful rivalry. Three officers, named by the magiſtrates, ſelect three hundred young men diſtinguiſhed by their merit, form of them a ſeparate claſs, and declare the motive of their choice to the public [k]. From that inſtant thoſe who have been excluded league againſt a promotion which ſeems to redound to their diſhonour. Two bodies are then formed in the ſtate, all the members of which, continually employed in watching each other, give information to the magiſtrate of every fault of their adverſaries, publicly engage in competitions of generous and virtuous actions, and ſurpaſs themſelves, the one to attain to the diſtinguiſhed rank to which their rivals have been raiſed, and the other to preſerve the honours that have been conferred upon them. It is from a ſimilar motive that they are permitted to attack each other, and try their ſtrength, almoſt whenever they meet. But theſe conteſts never have fatal conſequences; for, as ſoon as any ſigns of rage appear in them, the meaneſt citizen may ſuſpend them with a word; and if, by chance, his voice is not liſtened to, he may carry the parties before a tribunal, which, in this inſtance, will puniſh anger as a diſobedience to the laws [l].

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[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 680.

The inſtitutes of Lycurgus prepare us for a kind of indifference for thoſe goods, the acquiſition of which coſts us more anxiety than the poſſeſſion can procure us pleaſure. Our money is only of copper, the ſize and weight of which would betray the avaricious man who ſhould endeavour to conceal it from his ſlaves[m]. We conſider gold and ſilver as the poiſons moſt to be dreaded in a ſtate. If an individual ſhould ſecrete them in his houſe, he could neither eſcape the continual reſearches of the public officers, nor the ſeverity of the laws. We are neither acquainted with arts, commerce, nor any of the other means employed to multiply the wants and unhappineſs of a people. What uſe, in fact, could we make of riches? Other legiſlators have endeavoured to increaſe their circulation, and philoſophers to prevent their abuſe. Lycurgus has rendered them uſeleſs to us. We have cottages, clothing, and bread; we have iron, and hands for the ſervice of our country and our friends; and we have free and vigorous minds, incapable alike of ſupporting the tyranny of men, or that of our paſſions. Theſe are our treaſures.

We conſider the exceſſive love of glory as a weakneſs, and the inordinate deſire of fame as a crime. We have no hiſtorian, no orator, no panegyriſt, nor any of thoſe monuments which only

[m] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682. Plut. in Lycurg. t. 1. p. 44.

atteſt the vanity of a people. The nations we have conquered will tranſmit our victories to poſterity. We teach our children to be as brave and virtuous as their fathers. The example of Leonidas, inceſſantly preſent to their memory, will incite them to emulation by day and night. You have only to aſk them, and they will repeat to you, by rote, the names of the three hundred Spartans who died with that hero at Thermopylæ [n].

We never can call by the name of grandeur that independence of the laws which in other countries the principal citizens affect. Licentiouſneſs, certain of impunity, appears to us a meanneſs, which at once renders contemptible both the individual who is guilty of it, and the ſtate by which it is tolerated. We believe that we are the equals of all other men, of whatever country or rank they may be, not excepting the great king of Perſia himſelf. Yet the moment that our laws ſpeak, all our haughtineſs bows itſelf down, and the moſt powerful of our citizens haſtens to obey the voice of the magiſtrate with as much ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt [o]. We fear our laws alone, becauſe Lycurgus having procured them to be approved by the oracle of Delphi, we have received them as the commands of the gods themſelves [p]; and be-

[n] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 224.
[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[p] Id. ibid.

cauſe that wiſe lawgiver having adapted them to our real wants, they are the true foundation of our happineſs.

From this firſt ſketch you will eaſily perceive that Lycurgus ought not to be conſidered as a ſimple legiſlator, but as a profound philoſopher, and an enlightened reformer; that his legiſlation is at once a ſyſtem of morals and politics; that his laws have a never-ceaſing influence on our manners and ſentiments; and that while other legiſlators have confined themſelves to the prevention of evil, he has conſtrained us to effect poſitive good, and to be virtuous [q].

He was the firſt who had a juſt knowledge of the ſtrength and weakneſs of man, which he has ſo employed and adapted to the duties and wants of the citizen, that, among us, the intereſts of individuals are always inſeparable from thoſe of th republic. Be not then ſurpriſed that one of the moſt inconſiderable ſtates of Greece is become the moſt powerful [r]. Here every thing is employed ſo as to produce its effect. There is not the ſmalleſt degree of power which is not directed towards the general good, nor a ſingle act of virtue which is loſt to our country.

The ſyſtem of Lycurgus could not but produce

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[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
[r] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 18. Xenoph. ibid. p. 675. Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53.

juſt and pacific men; it is nevertheleſs a melancholy reflection, that unleſs they could be tranſported to ſome diſtant and inacceſſible iſland, they muſt at length be enſlaved by the vices or the arms of the neighbouring nations. The legiſlator endeavoured to prevent both theſe evils. He did not permit foreigners to enter Laconia except on certain days [s], nor the inhabitants to go out of it [t] but for very important reaſons. The ſituation of the country was favourable to the enforcing of this law. Surrounded by ſeas and mountains, we have only ſome defiles to guard, to ſtop corruption on our frontiers. The prohibition of commerce and navigation was the conſequence of this regulation [u], and from this prohibition reſulted the ineſtimable advantage of having but a very few laws, ſince it has been remarked that only one half the number is neceſſary to a city not engaged in commerce [x].

It was ſtill more difficult to conquer than to corrupt us. From the riſing of the ſun to his going down, from our earlieſt years to the cloſe of life, we are continually under arms, continually prepared for the enemy, even obſerving a more exact diſcipline than if we were within ſight of an

[s] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1014. Schol. ejuſd. in Pac. v. 622. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 144; lib. 2, cap. 39. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56; in Agid. p. 799. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 9.

[t] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

[u] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 842.

invading army. On whichever ſide you turn your eyes you will leſs imagine yourſelf in a city than in a camp[y]; you will ſee nothing but marches, evolutions, attacks, and battles; you will only hear the ſhouts of victory or the recital of great actions. Theſe formidable preparations are not only the recreations of our leiſure but our ſecurity, by ſpreading far and wide the terror and reſpect which conſtantly accompany the name of Lacedæmonian.

Many of our laws are ſuited to inſpire and encourage this military ſpirit. While young, we every morning take the exerciſe of the chace[z]; and afterwards, as often as the duties we have to fulfil leave us intervals of leiſure[a]. Lycurgus has recommended to us this exerciſe as the image of danger and of victory.

While our youth are engaged with ardour in this ſport, it is permitted them to range the country, and carry off whatever they may find which ſuits their convenience[b]. They are permitted the ſame in the city, and are eſteemed to have committed no crime, but to be deſerving of praiſe, if they are not detected; but are blamed and puniſhed if diſcovered. This law, which appears to

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[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2, t. ii. p. 666. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Iſocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53.
[z] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.
[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.
[b] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.

be borrowed from the Egyptians[c], has brought much cenſure on Lycurgus[d]. It ſeems, in fact, as if its natural conſequence muſt be to inſpire our youth with an inclination to diſorder and robbery; but it in reality only produces in them more addreſs and activity, in the other citizens more vigilance, and in all a greater aptitude to foreſee the deſigns of an enemy, to prepare ſnares for him, or to avoid thoſe which he may prepare[e].

Before we conclude, let us recur to the principles from which we ſet out. A healthy and vigorous body, and a mind free from anxiety and wants, conſtitute the natural happineſs of man in ſolitude; and the union and emulation of citizens, that which ought to be his object in ſociety. If the laws of Lycurgus have fulfilled the views of nature and ſociety, we enjoy the beſt of conſtitutions. But you will examine it in detail, and be able to judge whether in fact it ought to inſpire us with pride.

I then aſked Damonax how ſuch a conſtitution could ſubſiſt; for, ſaid I, ſince it is equally founded on the laws and on manners, the ſame puniſhments ought to be inflicted for offences againſt the one as for crimes againſt the other; and would

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[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 72. Aul. Gell. lib. 11, cap. 18.
[d] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.
[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677. Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. v. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

you

you condemn to death, like criminals, thoſe citizens who have forfeited their honour?

We condemn them, replied he, to a ſeverer puniſhment; we ſuffer them to live, and render them miſerable. In corrupted ſtates the man who diſhonours himſelf is every where blamed, and every where received [f]: with us ignominy follows and torments him wherever he goes. We puniſh him both in himſelf and what is moſt dear to him. His wife, condemned to waſte her days in tears, is not allowed to appear in public; and if he himſelf ventures abroad, he muſt, by the negligence of his dreſs, confeſs his ſhame, and keep at a reſpectful diſtance from every citizen he meets. At our games, he is baniſhed to a place where he is expoſed to the view and contempt of the public. A thouſand deaths are not to be compared to this puniſhment.

Another difficulty, ſaid I, likewiſe preſents itſelf. I cannot but fear leſt Lycurgus, by thus weakening your paſſions, and depriving you of all thoſe objects of intereſt and ambition which ſet in motion other nations, ſhould have left in your minds a vaſt vacuity. What in fact can remain in them? The enthuſiaſm of valour, replied he; the love of our country, carried even to fanaticiſm; the ſenſe of our liberty; the delicious pride which our virtues inſpire; and the eſteem of a people of citizens ſovereignly eſtimable. Can you imagine

[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.

that, under the influence of emotions ſo lively, our minds can ſink into inactivity and torpor?

I know not, replied I, whether a whole people are capable of ſentiments ſo ſublime, or whether they can be ſuſtained at ſuch an elevation. He anſwered: When it is wiſhed to form the character of a nation, the beginning ſhould be made by the principal citizens. When theſe are once put in motion, and their efforts directed toward great objects, they draw after them the great body of the people, who are rather led by examples than principles. A ſoldier who behaves cowardly when he follows a timid general, will perform prodigies when commanded by a hero.

But, added I, by baniſhing luxury and the arts, have you not deprived yourſelves of the enjoyments they procure? We ſhall always find it difficult to perſuade ourſelves that the beſt means to arrive at happineſs is to proſcribe pleaſures. In fine, to judge of the merit of your laws, we ought to know whether, with all your virtues, you are equally happy with the other Greeks. We believe ourſelves to be much more ſo, replied he, and that perſuaſion is ſufficient to render us ſo in reality.

Damonax, as he concluded, requeſted me not to forget, that, according to our agreement, our converſation had only turned on the ſpirit of the laws of Lycurgus, and on the manners of the ancient Spartans.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Life of Lycurgus.

I HAVE ſaid, in the introduction to this work, that the deſcendants of Hercules, formerly expelled from Peloponneſus, returned thither eighty years after the taking of Troy. Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, the three ſons of Ariſtomachus, brought with them an army of Dorians, and made themſelves maſters of this part of Greece. In the diviſion of the country, Argolis fell to Temenus, and Meſſenia to Creſphontes [z]. The third brother dying in the mean time, Euryſthenes and Procles his ſons poſſeſſed themſelves of Laconia. From theſe two princes ſprang the two families which, ſince about nine centuries, have reigned in conjunction at Lacedæmon.

This riſing ſtate was often ſhaken by inteſtine factions or daring enterpriſes. It was threatened with ſpeedy deſtruction when one of its kings, named Polydectes, died without iſſue. Lycurgus his brother ſucceeded him. It was not then known

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 683.

that the queen was pregnant. As ſoon as Lycurgus was informed that ſhe was ſo, he declared that if ſhe gave an heir to the throne, he would be the firſt to acknowledge his right, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, only adminiſtered the government of the kingdom in quality of guardian to the young prince.

The queen, however, cauſed it to be ſignified to him, that if he would conſent to marry her, ſhe would not heſitate to deſtroy her child. To prevent the execution of ſo horrid a project, Lycurgus amuſed her with vain hopes[h]. She brought forth a ſon; Lycurgus took him in his arms, and ſhewing him to the magiſtrates of Sparta, "See," ſaid he, "the king who is born to you."

The joy which he teſtified at an event that deprived him of the crown, added to the wiſdom with which he had adminiſtered the affairs of the ſtate, procured him the reſpect and love of the greater part of the citizens; but theſe virtues were a ſubject of alarm to ſome leading men. They were ſeconded by the queen, who, to revenge the ſuppoſed injury ſhe had ſuffered, excited againſt him his relations and friends. They alleged that it was dangerous to confide the life of the young prince to the care of a man whoſe principal intereſt it was to ſhorten his days. Theſe murmurs,

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40.

though feeble at firſt, at length gathered ſo much ſtrength that, to ſilence them, he was obliged to leave his country.

In Crete, the laws of the ſage Minos long engaged his attention. He admired the harmony which they maintained in the ſtate, and among individuals. Among the intelligent perſons who aſſiſted him with their knowledge and abilities, he had formed an intimate connection with a poet of the name of Thales, whom he judged worthy to promote the great deſigns he revolved in his mind[i]. Thales by his advice went and reſided at Lacedæmon, where he recited poems which invited and prepared the minds of men to obedience and concord.

The better to judge of the effects which are produced by different governments and manners, Lycurgus viſited the coaſts of Aſia. He there only ſaw laws and minds without vigour. The Cretans under a ſimple and ſtrict government were happy: the Ionians, who pretended to be ſo, were the ſlaves of pleaſure and licentiouſneſs. An ineſtimable diſcovery recompenſed him for the diſguſting ſcene he had before his eyes. The poems of Homer fell into his hands, and in them he ſaw, with ſurpriſe, the nobleſt maxims of morals and politics embelliſhed by the charms of

[i] Strab. lib. 10, p. 482.

fiction. With this work he therefore reſolved to enrich Greece[k].

While he continued to travel through diſtant lands, every where ſtudying the genius and the work of legiſlators, and gathering the ſeeds of happineſs which were ſcattered through different countries, Lacedæmon, wearied of her diviſions, ſent to him, more than once, deputies who preſſed him to return to the ſuccour of the ſtate. He alone was able to guide the reins of government, which had been, by turns, in the hands of the kings and in thoſe of the multitude[l]. He long refuſed, but at length yielded to the united and ardent ſolicitations of all the citizens of Lacedæmon.

On his return to Sparta, he ſoon perceived that the reformation neceſſary was not to repair the edifice of the laws, but to pull it down and erect another entirely new. He foreſaw all the obſtacles to this deſign, but was not intimidated. He had in his favour the reſpect paid to his birth and virtues, his genius, his knowledge, that majeſtic courage which impels the minds of men, and that conciliatory ſpirit which attracts them[m]: he had, in fine, the approbation of heaven, which, after the example of other legiſlators, he had always been

[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 42.
[m] Id. ibid.

careful to ſecure. On conſulting the oracle at Delphi, he had received for anſwer: "The gods accept thy worſhip, and under their auſpices thou ſhalt frame the moſt excellent of political conſtitutions." Lycurgus afterwards never neglected to maintain a correſpondence with the pythia, who ſucceſſively impreſſed on his laws the ſeal of divine authority [n].

Before he began his operations he ſubmitted his plan to the examination of his friends and the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens. From theſe he choſe thirty, who were to attend him completely armed in the general aſſembly. This guard was not however always ſufficient to prevent tumults. In a commotion which happened in conſequence of a new law, the rich citizens roſe upon him with ſo much fury, that he determined to take refuge in a neighbouring temple; but as he retired he received a violent blow, which, it is ſaid, deprived him of an eye. He contented himſelf with ſhewing to thoſe who purſued him his face covered with blood. At this ſight, the greater part of them, aſhamed of what they had done, accompanied him home, with every mark of reſpect and grief, expreſſing the utmoſt deteſtation of the action, and delivering the perſon who had committed it into his hands, to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould pleaſe. This was a

[n] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1, cap. 16.

violent and impetuous youth. Lycurgus, without loading him with reproaches, or uttering the leaſt complaint, took him to his houſe, and, having cauſed his friends and domeſtics to retire, directed him to ſerve him, and dreſs his wound. The young man ſilently obeyed, and, witneſſing every moment new proofs of the goodneſs, patience, and great qualities of Lycurgus, changed his hatred into love, and corrected the violence of his own character after ſo noble a model [o].

The new conſtitution was at length approved by all orders of the ſtate. All the parts of it were ſo well combined, that, on the firſt trials, it was judged that nothing was wanting [p]. Yet, notwithſtanding its excellence, it was not aſſured of duration. Lycurgus, therefore, when the people were aſſembled, thus addreſſed them: "It ſtill remains for me to lay before you the moſt important article of my legiſlation, but I wiſh firſt to conſult the oracle of Delphi. Promiſe me that, until my return, you will make no alteration in the laws already eſtabliſhed." They promiſed him. "Swear it," ſaid he. The kings, ſenators, and all the citizens, called the gods to be witneſſes to their words [q]. This ſolemn engagement could not but be irre-

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[o] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 57.
[q] Id. ibid. Nicol. Damaſc. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 446.

vocable, for it was his reſolution never more to return to his country.

He immediately repaired to Delphi, and enquired whether the new laws were ſufficient to enſure the happineſs of the Spartans. The pythia having anſwered that Sparta would be the moſt flouriſhing of cities ſo long as ſhe ſhould continue to obſerve them, Lycurgus ſent that oracle to Lacedæmon, and condemned himſelf to voluntary baniſhment[r]. He died far from the country of whoſe happineſs he had been the cauſe.

It has been ſaid that Lacedæmon has not rendered ſufficient honours to his memory[s], no doubt becauſe it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould ever render too many. She has dedicated to him a temple, in which a ſacrifice is offered every year[t]. His relations and friends formed a ſociety[u] which has been perpetuated to our days, and which meets from time to time, to renew the memory of his virtues. One day, when this aſſembly was held in the temple, Euclidas addreſſed the following diſcourſe to the tutelary genius of the place:

We celebrate thee without knowing by what name to call thee. The pythia doubted if thou wert not rather a god than a mortal[x]; in this un-

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[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.
[s] Ariſtot. apud Plut. ibid. p. 59.
[t] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 248.
[u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59.
[x] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 65. Plut. ibid. p. 42.

certainty ſhe named thee the friend of the gods, becauſe thou wert the friend of men.

Thy great ſoul would feel a juſt indignation, ſhould we attribute to thee as a merit that thou didſt not procure to thyſelf the crown by a crime; and little would it be flattered ſhould we add, that thou hadſt expoſed thy life and renounced repoſe to do good. Thoſe ſacrifices that coſt an effort are alone to be praiſed.

The greater part of legiſlators have gone aſtray by following the beaten track. Thou ſaweſt that to procure happineſs to a nation it muſt be conducted through a new and unuſual path[y]. We praiſe thee for having better known the human heart in the time of ignorance, than it has been underſtood by philoſophers in this enlightened age.

We thank thee for having provided a check to the authority of the kings, to the inſolence of the people, to the pretenſions of the rich, to our paſſions, and even to our virtues.

We thank thee for having placed above us a ſovereign power which ſees every thing, can effect every thing, and which nothing can corrupt. Thou haſt placed the laws upon the throne, and our magiſtrates at their feet; while in other ſtates a mortal is on the throne, and the laws under his feet. The laws are like a palm tree which nou-

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y Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675.

riſhes equally with its fruit all who repoſe beneath its ſhade; while the deſpot is like a tree planted on a mountain, and ſurrounded only by vultures and ſerpents.

We thank thee that thou haſt left us only a ſmall number of rational and juſt ideas, and that thou haſt prevented us from having more deſires than wants.

We thank thee for having preſumed ſo well of us as to believe that we ſhould need to requeſt no other courage of the gods but that which may enable us to endure injuſtice, when it is neceſſary [z].

When thou ſaweſt thy laws, reſplendent in grandeur and beauty, act, if I may ſo ſpeak, of themſelves, without claſhing or disjoining, it has been ſaid that thou waſt tranſported with a pure joy, reſembling that of the Supreme Being, when he beheld the univerſe, immediately after its creation, execute all its motions in perfect harmony and regularity [a].

Thy courſe on earth has only been marked by benefits: happy ſhall we be, if, recalling them inceſſantly to memory, we may be able to tranſmit to our ſons the depoſit committed to our care ſuch as it was received by our fathers.

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[z] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p 239.
[a] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Government of Lacedæmon.

SINCE the firſt eſtabliſhment of ſocieties it has every where been the conſtant endeavour of ſovereigns to extend their prerogative, and that of their ſubjects to circumſcribe and contract it. The troubles which are the conſequence of this ſtruggle have been more felt at Sparta than in any other ſtate. On the one ſide are two kings, whoſe intereſts are frequently diſtinct, and who are always ſupported by a great number of partiſans; and on the other a warlike and untractable people, who, neither knowing to command or obey, have by turns precipitated the government into the extremes of tyranny and democracy [b].

Lycurgus had too much underſtanding to abandon the adminiſtration of public affairs to the caprices of the multitude [c], or to leave it entirely to the will of the two princes on the throne. He ſought a mean by which he might temper power

[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42.
[c] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 228.

by wiſdom, and believed that he had found it in Crete, where a ſupreme council moderates the authority of the ſovereign [d]. He eſtabliſhed one nearly ſimilar at Sparta. Twenty-eight aged men, of conſummate experience, were appointed to ſhare with the kings the plenitude of power [e]. It was regulated that the great intereſts of the ſtate ſhould be diſcuſſed in this auguſt ſenate; that the two kings ſhould preſide in it, and that every queſtion ſhould be decided by the plurality of voices [f]; that the determinations of this council ſhould afterwards be laid before the general aſſembly of the ſtate, which ſhould have the right to approve or reject them, but not be permitted to make in them the ſmalleſt alteration [g].

Whether this latter clauſe was not expreſſed with ſufficient clearneſs, or whether the diſcuſſion of the decrees naturally inſpired the deſire of making alterations in them, the people inſenſibly aſſumed to themſelves the right of altering them by additions or retrenchments. This abuſe was finally aboliſhed by Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus [h]. Theſe princes cauſed a new article to be added by the pythia of Delphi to the

[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 332.
[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 692. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42.
[f] Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 14, t. i. p. 264.
[g] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43.
[h] Plut. ibid.

oracle which had regulated the diſtribution of power[i].

The ſenate had till then maintained an equilibrium between the kings and the people[k]; but the places of the ſenators as well as the authority of the kings being held for life, it was to be feared that, in time, theſe might too cloſely unite, and no longer find any oppoſition to their will. A part of their functions therefore were transferred to five magiſtrates, named ephori, or inſpectors, appointed to defend the people in caſe of oppreſſion. This new intermediary body was inſtituted, with the conſent of the ſtate, by the king Theopompus[l]*.

If we may believe philoſophers, this prince, by limiting his authority, rendered it more ſolid and durable[m]. If we judge by the event, we ſhall ſee that by preventing one danger he prepared the way for another, which ſooner or later could not but ariſe. The conſtitution of Lycurgus contained a happy mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Theopompus added to theſe an oligarchy[n], which in our time has become tyrannical[o].

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[i] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43.

[k] Id. ibid. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 459.

[l] Ariſtot. lib. 5, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 407. Plut. ibid. Id. ad Princip. inerud. t. ii. p. 779. Val. Max. lib. 4, cap. 1, in extern. No. 8. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 36, p. 565. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. iii. p. 164.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 692. Ariſtot. ibid.

[n] Archyt. ap. Stob. p. 269. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 321.

[o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4, p. 712.

Let us now caſt a rapid glance over the different parts of this government, ſuch as they are found at preſent, and not as they formerly were, for they have almoſt all undergone ſeveral changes [p].

The two kings muſt be of the houſe of Hercules, and cannot marry a foreign woman [q]. The ephori watch over the conduct of the queens, that they may not give children to the ſtate that are not the offspring of that auguſt houſe [r]. If they are convicted, or ſtrongly ſuſpected, of infidelity to their huſbands, their children are degraded to the claſs of private perſons [s].

In each of the two reigning branches the crown deſcends to the eldeſt of the ſons, or, if there are no ſons, to the brother of the king [t]. If the eldeſt dies before his father, it paſſes to the next ſon; but if he leaves a ſon, that ſon is preferred to his uncles [u]. In default of the nearer heirs in a family, diſtant relations are called to the throne, and never perſons of another houſe [x].

All differences concerning the ſucceſſion are diſ-

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[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.
[q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.
[r] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 121.
[s] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 63. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 212. Id. ibid. cap. 8, p. 224.
[t] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 42. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 493. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Ageſil. p. 596.
[u] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 796.
[x] Nep. in Ageſ. cap. 1.

cuſſed and terminated in the general aſſembly [y]. When a king has no children by a firſt wife, he muſt divorce her [z]. Anaxandrides had married the daughter of his ſiſter, whom he tenderly loved. Some years after, the ephori cited him before their tribunal, and ſaid to him: It is our duty not to ſuffer the royal families to become extinct; repudiate your wife, and make choice of another who may give us an heir to the throne. On the refuſal of the king, after having deliberated on the matter with the ſenators, they thus addreſſed him: Follow our advice, and do not force the Spartans to have recourſe to violent meaſures. Without diſſolving bands which are too dear to your heart, enter into new ones which may be favourable to our wiſhes. Nothing could be more contrary to the laws of Sparta, nevertheleſs Anaxandrides obeyed. He married a ſecond wife, by whom he had a ſon; but his affections were always fixed on the firſt, who ſome time after brought forth the celebrated Leonidas [a].

The preſumptive heir is not brought up with the other children of the ſtate [b]. A fear is entertained leſt too much familiarity ſhould prejudice

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[y] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 493. Id. in Ageſ. p. 652. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 8, p. 224.

[z] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 68.

[a] Id. lib. 5, cap. 39. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 211.

[b] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 596.

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that reſpect they will one day owe to him. His education, however, is not the leſs carefully attended to. He is impreſſed with a juſt idea of his dignity, and one ſtill more juſt of his duties. A Spartan once ſaid to Cleomenes: "A king ought to be affable." "No doubt," replied that prince, "provided he does not expoſe himſelf to contempt[c]." Another king of Lacedæmon ſaid to his relations, who preſſed him to commit an act of injuſtice: "By teaching me that the laws are more binding on the ſovereign than the other citizens, you have taught me to diſobey you on this occaſion[d]."

Lycurgus has limited the authority of the kings, but he has left them honours and prerogatives which they enjoy as the heads of religion, the adminiſtration, and the army. Beſides certain prieſthoods, which they exerciſe themſelves[e], they regulate every thing which concerns the public worſhip, and appear at the head of the religious ceremonies[f]. To enable them to addreſs their vows to heaven, either as individuals, or in behalf of the republic[g], the ſtate aſſigns them, on the firſt and

[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 223.
[d] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 431. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 56.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 57. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 356. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2, t. i. p. 264.
[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 493.

ſeventh day of every month, a victim, with a certain quantity of wine and barley-meal [h]. Both have a right to be attended by magiſtrates or augurs, who are never to leave them, and who are called Pythians. The ſovereign, in caſes of neceſſity, ſends them to conſult the pythia, and carefully preſerves the oracles they bring back [i]. This privilege is perhaps one of the moſt important in the poſſeſſion of royalty, as it enables thoſe who are inveſted with it to maintain a ſecret correſpondence with the prieſts of Delphi, the authors of thoſe oracles which often decide the fate of an empire.

As head of the ſtate he may, when he aſcends the throne, annul the debts which a citizen has contracted either with his predeceſſor or with the republic [k]*. The people aſſign to him, for himſelf, certain portions of inheritances [l], which he may diſpoſe of during his life in favour of his relations [m].

The two kings preſide in the ſenate, and propoſe the ſubjects for deliberation [n]. Each gives his ſuffrage, or, in caſe of abſence, ſends it by a

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[h] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 57. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.
[i] Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. ibid.
[k] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 59.
* This was alſo the cuſtom in Perſia. (Herodot. ibid.)
[l] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690.
[m] Id. in Ageſil. p. 665.
[n] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 57. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2, t. i. p. 264.

ſenator who is related to him[o]. This ſuffrage is equivalent to two[p]. All cauſes brought before the general aſſembly are decided by the majority of votes[q]. When the two kings propoſe in concert any project of manifeſt utility to the republic, no perſon is permitted to oppoſe it[r]. The liberty of the ſtate has nothing to fear from ſuch an unanimity, ſince, beſides the ſecret jealouſy which exiſts between the two royal families[s], it is rare that their heads poſſeſs the ſame degree of knowledge to diſcern the true intereſts of the ſtate, or the ſame degree of courage to defend them. All cauſes relative to the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, or the choice of the kinſman who ſhall be obliged to marry an orphan heireſs, are ſubmitted to the deciſion of the kings[t].

The kings muſt not be abſent during peace[u], nor both at once in time of war[x]; except there be two armies in the field. They have by right the command of the army[y], and Lycurgus has wiſhed them to appear there with that ſplendour and au-

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[o] Herodot. lib. 6, c. 57.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 20. Schol. ibid. Lucian. in Harmon. cap. 3, t. i. p. 855. Meurſ. de Regn. Lacon. cap. 23.
[q] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 2, t. i. p. 264.
[r] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.
[s] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.
[t] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 57.
[u] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 800.
[x] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 75. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 562.
[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Ariſt. de Rep. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 356.

thority which may enſure them reſpect and obedience.

On the day of his departure for the army, the king offers a ſacrifice to Jupiter. A young man takes a flaming brand from the altar, and carries it, at the head of the troops, to the frontiers of the ſtate, where a new ſacrifice is offered [a].

The ſtate provides for the maintenance of the general and his houſehold, conſiſting, beſides his uſual guard, of the two pythians or augurs of whom I have ſpoken above, the polemarchs, or principal officers, with whom he may adviſe on every emergency, and three ſubaltern officers, who attend on his perſon [a]. Thus freed from every domeſtic care, he is at liberty to give his whole attention to the operations of the campaign. Theſe it appertains to him to direct, as alſo to ſign truces with the enemy [b], and to give audience to and anſwer the ambaſſadors of foreign powers [c]. The two ephori who accompany him have no other function than to prevent any corruption of manners, and never interfere in any affairs, except ſuch as he thinks proper to communicate to them [d].

In theſe modern times the general has ſome-

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[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 60.
[c] Xenoph. ibid. p. 689.
[d] Id. Hiſt. Græc, lib. 2, p. 477 et 478. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 688.

times been ſuſpected of having conſpired againſt the liberty of his country, either by ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by bribes, or miſled by evil counſels [e]. Theſe crimes have been puniſhed, according to the circumſtances, by very heavy fines, by baniſhment, or even by the loſs of the crown and of life. Among the princes who have been thus accuſed, one was obliged to fly, and take refuge in a temple [f]; another aſked forgiveneſs of the aſſembly, who granted him a pardon, but on condition that for the future he ſhould conduct himſelf by the advice of ten Spartans, who ſhould follow him to the army, and who ſhould be appointed by the aſſembly [g]. As the confidence between the ſovereign and the other magiſtrates becomes leſs from day to day, he will ſoon be only ſurrounded in his expeditions by ſpies and informers choſen from among his enemies [h].

During peace the kings are only the firſt citizens of a free city. As citizens they appear in public without a retinue, and without oſtentation; as firſt citizens they are honoured with the firſt place, and every perſon riſes in their preſence,

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[e] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 82. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 132. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 221.

[f] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 21; lib. 5, cap. 16. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 221.

[g] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 126.

[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 331.

except the ephori ſitting in their tribunal[i]. When they cannot be preſent at the public repaſts, a meaſure of wine and meal[k] is ſent them; but they do not receive theſe when they are abſent without neceſſity[l].

In theſe repaſts, as well as in thoſe which they are allowed to take at the houſes of private perſons, they receive a double portion, which they ſhare with their friends[m]. Theſe minute circumſtances are by no means indifferent. Diſtinctions are every where only ſigns of convention, ſuited to times and places. Thoſe that are granted to the kings of Lacedæmon procure them no leſs reſpect from the people than if they were attended by the numerous army which compoſes the guard of the king of Perſia.

Royalty has always ſubſiſted at Lacedæmon, 1ſt, becauſe being divided between two families, the ambition of the one is ſoon repreſſed by the jealouſy of the other, as well as by the watchful cares of the magiſtrates: 2dly, becauſe the kings having never attempted to extend their prerogative, have never given any umbrage to the people[n]. This moderation has ſecured to them the

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[i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.
[k] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 57.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
[m] Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 665.
[n] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651.

love of their ſubjects during their lives [o], and their regret after their death. As ſoon as one of the kings has breathed his laſt, women run through the ſtreets, and make known the public misfortune by ſtriking on veſſels of braſs [p]. The forum is covered with ſtraw, and nothing is allowed to be ſold there during three days [q]. Men on horſeback are ſent out to carry the news into the country, and to give notice to thoſe freemen or ſlaves who are to attend the funeral, and who throng to it by thouſands. They cut and mangle their faces, and repeatedly exclaim, amid their long lamentations, that, "among all the princes that ever lived a better never exiſted [r]." Yet do theſe wretches regard as a tyrant him whoſe death they are thus obliged to lament. The Spartans are not ignorant of this, but, compelled by a law of Lycurgus [s] to refrain on this occaſion from tears and lamentations, they have been deſirous that the feigned grief of their ſlaves and ſubjects might, in ſome meaſure, expreſs the real ſorrow which they themſelves feel.

When the king dies on a military expedition, his effigy is expoſed on a bed of ſtate, and, during

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[o] Iſocr. Orat. ad Philip. t. i. p. 269. Id. de Pace, p. 431.
[p] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 58. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2, v. 36.
[q] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
[r] Herodot. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 1. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 14, p. 313.
[s] Plut. Inſtitut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

ten days, it is not permitted either to convene the general aſſembly, or to open the tribunals of juſtice[t]. When the body, which care is taken to preſerve in honey or wax[u], arrives, it is buried in the quarter of the city in which are the tombs of the kings[x].

The ſenate, conſiſting of the two kings and the twenty-eight gerontes, or aged men[y], is the ſupreme council[z], in which are diſcuſſed, in the firſt inſtance, all queſtions relative to declaring war, concluding peace, entering into alliances, and other high and important affairs of ſtate.

To obtain a place in this auguſt aſſembly, is to aſcend the throne of honour. This dignity is never granted but to the citizen who, from his earlieſt youth, has been diſtinguiſhed for conſummate prudence and eminent virtues[a]. He cannot arrive at it until he is of the age of ſixty years[b], and he retains it to his death[c]. No fear is entertained of any decay of his rational faculties, ſince,

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[t] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 58.

[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 564. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 618.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 237. Id. ibid. cap. 14, p. 240.

[y] Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 2, cap. 3.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 231.

[a] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 556. Ulpian. ibid. p. 589. Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288.

[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

[c] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 330. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 489.

from the regular kind of life led at Sparta, both the mind and body are there leſs enfeebled by age than in other countries.

When a ſenator dies, ſeveral candidates offer themſelves to ſucceed him, and they muſt openly declare their wiſh to obtain this honour. Lycurgus then intended to favour and promote ambition[d]? Yes, that ambition which, as a reward for ſervices rendered to the country, ardently ſolicits to be permitted to render it ſtill more.

The election takes place in the forum[e], in which the people are aſſembled, with the kings, ſenators, and the different claſſes of magiſtrates. Each candidate appears in the order aſſigned by lot[f]. He walks through the forum, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and in profound ſilence. As he paſſes, he is honoured with ſhouts of approbation, more or leſs numerous, and more or leſs frequent. Theſe ſhouts are heard by perſons concealed in a neighbouring houſe, from which they can ſee nothing, and whoſe buſineſs it is to obſerve the difference of the ſucceſſive plaudits, and afterwards to declare that, at ſuch a time, the wiſh of the public was manifeſted by the moſt lively and continued marks of approbation.

After this combat, in which virtue only yields

[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 331.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 374.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

to virtue, begins a kind of triumphal proceſſion. The victor is conducted through all the quarters of the city, with his head bound with a garland, and followed by a number of boys and maidens, who celebrate his virtues and his victory. He repairs to the temples, where he offers incenſe, and to the houſes of his relations, where cakes and flowers are ſpread on a table. "Take," ſay they, "theſe preſents, with which the ſtate honours you, by our hands." In the evening all the women who are related to him aſſemble at the door of the hall in which he takes his repaſt. He cauſes her whom he moſt eſteems to approach, and preſenting to her one of the two portions which have been ſerved up to him: "On you," ſays he, "I beſtow the honourable reward I have juſt received." All the other women applaud his choice, and conduct home her whom he has thus diſtinguiſhed with the moſt flattering marks of reſpect [s].

From that moment the new ſenator is obliged to dedicate the reſt of his days to the functions of his office. Of theſe ſome reſpect the ſtate, and have been pointed out above; others concern certain particular caſes, the judgment of which is reſerved to the ſenate. On this tribunal depend not only the lives of the citizens, but alſo their

s Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

fortune[h]; I mean their honour, for the true Spartan knows no other poſſeſſion.

Several days are employed in the inveſtigation of crimes which are puniſhed with death, becauſe an error on theſe occaſions cannot be repaired. The accuſed is never condemned on ſimple preſumptions; but though acquitted, he is again proſecuted with rigour, if new proofs are afterwards obtained againſt him[i].

The ſenate has the right of inflicting a kind of ſtigma which deprives the citizen of a part of his privileges; and hence, in the preſence of the ſenator, the reſpect claimed by the virtuous man is mingled with the ſalutary fear inſpired by the judge[k].

When a king is accuſed of having violated the laws, or betrayed the intereſts of the ſtate, the tribunal which muſt acquit or condemn him is compoſed of the twenty-eight ſenators, the five ephori, and the king of the other family[l]. He may however appeal from them to the general aſſembly of the people[m].

The ephori, or inſpectors, ſo named becauſe they extend their care over every part of the ad-

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[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
[i] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 217.
[k] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288.
[l] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 5, p. 215.
[m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii, p. 804. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 4, cap. 8.

miniſtration [n], are five in number [o], and changed every year, to prevent their abuſing their authority [p]. They enter on their office at the beginning of the year, which is fixed at the new moon that follows the autumnal equinox [q]. The firſt of them gives his name to that year [r]; and thus, to aſſign the date of any event, it ſuffices to ſay that it happened under ſuch an ephorus.

The people poſſeſs the right of electing theſe magiſtrates from among the citizens of every rank [s], whom, as ſoon as they are inveſted with their dignity, they conſider as their defenders, and therefore have never failed, on every occaſion, to enlarge their prerogatives.

I have already intimated that the office of the ephori did not enter into the plan of the conſtitution of Lycurgus; it only appears that, about a century and a half after his time, the kings of Lacedæmon diveſted themſelves of ſeveral prerogatives in its favour, and that its power was afterwards increaſed by a chief of this tribunal named

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[n] Suid. in Ἔφοι. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 86.

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 332. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 231.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 36. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 597.

[q] Dodwel. de Cycl. Diſſert. 8, § 5, p. 320. Id. in Annal. Thucyd. p. 168.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 232.

[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 330; lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 374.

Aſteropus[t]. Succeſſively enriched by the ſpoils of the ſenate and of royalty, it now unites in itſelf the moſt eminent privileges; ſuch as the adminiſtration of juſtice, the maintenance of manners and the laws, the inſpection of the other magiſtrates, and the execution of the decrees of the general aſſembly.

The tribunal of the ephori is held in the forum[u]. Thoſe magiſtrates repair thither every day to pronounce judgment on certain accuſations, and to terminate the differences of individuals[x]. This important function was formerly exerciſed only by the kings[y]; but during the firſt war of Meſſenia, when they were frequently obliged to be abſent, they delegated it to the ephori[z]. They have however always preſerved their right to be preſent, and to give their ſuffrages[a].

As the Lacedæmonians have only a ſmall number of laws, and vices before unknown are every day making their appearance among them, the judges are frequently obliged to determine according to the dictates of their own underſtanding; and as, in our times, ſeveral perſons of no great knowledge and abilities have been advanced to this

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[t] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 231.
[x] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 807. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 221.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 209.
[z] Plut. ibid. p. 808.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 63.

dignity, there is frequently reaſon to doubt of the equity of their deciſions [b].

The ephori take an extreme care of the education of youth. They every day examine perſonally whether the children of the ſtate are not brought up with too much delicacy [c]. They chooſe for them leaders who may excite their emulation [d], and appear at their head in a military and religious feſtival which is celebrated in honour of Minerva [e].

Other magiſtrates watch over the conduct of the women [f]. The authority of the ephori extends to all the citizens. Whatever may, in the remoteſt manner, be prejudicial to public order, or received uſages, is ſubject to their cenſure. They have often been known to proſecute perſons who have neglected their duties [g], or tamely ſuffered themſelves to be inſulted [h]; they reproached the former with having forgotten the reſpect due to the laws, and the latter with having diſregarded that which they owed to themſelves.

More than once they have puniſhed the abuſe which foreigners, whom they have admitted to

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[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 330.
[c] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 550.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. p. 679.
[e] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 303.
[f] Heſych. in Ἀγμός.
[g] Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 84.
[h] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

their games, have made of their talents. An orator once offered to diſcourſe a whole day on any ſubject that ſhould be aſſigned him. For this they baniſhed him from the city[i]. Archilochus underwent the ſame puniſhment for having admitted into his writings a maxim that encouraged cowardice; and almoſt in our own time, the muſician Timotheus, having delighted the Spartans with the harmony of his airs, one of the ephori came to him holding a knife in his hand, and thus addreſſed him: "We have condemned you to have four ſtrings cut from your lyre; tell me from which ſide you would chooſe to have them taken[k]."

We may judge by theſe examples of the ſeverity with which this tribunal formerly puniſhed thoſe faults which immediately attacked the laws and manners. Even at this day, when corruption is beginning to become general, it is no leſs formidable, though leſs reſpected; and thoſe individuals who have loſt their ancient principles, neglect nothing that may conceal them from the eye of theſe cenſors, who are the more ſevere to others as they are ſometimes more indulgent to themſelves[l].

To compel the greater part of the magiſtrates

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[i] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 238.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 336.

to give an account of their adminiſtration[m], to ſuſpend from their functions thoſe among them who have tranſgreſſed the laws, to throw them into priſon, to accuſe them before a ſuperior tribunal, and to proſecute them to capital conviction, are the excluſive privileges of the ephori[n]. They exerciſe them in part againſt the kings, whom they keep in dependence on themſelves, by an extraordinary and whimſical cuſtom. Every nine years, they chooſe a night in which the weather is calm and ſerene, and ſeating themſelves in an open plain, obſerve the motion of the ſtars. If any fiery exhalation ſhould ſhoot through the air, it is a ſtar that has changed its place, and indicates that the kings have offended the gods. A public proſecution is commenced againſt them, they are depoſed, and cannot be reſtored to their authority till they are abſolved from their ſuppoſed crimes by the oracle of Delphi[o].

The ſovereign, when ſtrongly ſuſpected of a crime againſt the ſtate, may indeed refuſe to appear before the ephori at the two firſt ſummonſes, but he muſt obey the third[p]. They may beſides ſecure his perſon[q], and bring him to trial. When his offence is leſs ſerious, they may themſelves inflict the

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 330.
[n] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[o] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 800.
[p] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 809.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 131. Nep. in Pauſan. cap. 3.

puniſhment

puniſhment. The laſt inſtance of this kind was when they condemned king Ageſilaus to pay a fine becauſe he had ſent a preſent to every ſenator at his entrance into office [r].

The executive power is entirely in their hands. They convene the general aſſembly [s], and collect its ſuffrages [t]. We may judge of the power with which they are inveſted by comparing the decrees which originate in this aſſembly with the ſentences they pronounce in their own tribunal. In the latter the judgment is preceded by this form of expreſſion: "It has ſeemed good to the kings and to the ephori [u];" and in the former by this: "It has ſeemed good to the ephori and the aſſembly [x]."

To them the ambaſſadors of nations at war or in alliance with the ſtate addreſs themſelves [y]: they are charged with the care of levying troops and ſending them to the place of their deſtination [z]; they expedite orders to the general of the army, which he is to follow [a]; they appoint two of their number to accompany him and watch over his con-

[r] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 482.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 460.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 87.
[u] Boeth. de Muſ. lib. 1, cap. 1. Not. Bulliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295.
[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 491.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 2, p. 459 et 460. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 801.
[z] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 503; lib. 5, p. 556, 563, 568, 574, &c. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215.
[a] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 3, p. 479.

duct[b], ſometimes interrupt his progreſs in the middle of his conqueſts, and recall him, according as their perſonal intereſt or that of the ſtate ſeems to require[c].

So many prerogatives obtain them a reſpect, which they juſtify by the honours they have decreed to illuſtrious actions[d], by their attachment to ancient maxims[e], and by the firmneſs with which, in our times, they have defeated the plots that threatened the public tranquillity[f].

They have during a long ſeries of years combated againſt the authority of the ſenators and kings, and never ceaſed to be their enemies till they became their protectors. Theſe attempts and innovations would, in other countries, have occaſioned torrents of blood to be poured forth. By what chance is it that in Sparta they have only produced ſome ſlight fermentations? Becauſe the ephori promiſed the people liberty, while their rivals, no leſs poor than the people, were unable to promiſe them riches; becauſe the ſpirit of union, introduced by the laws of Lycurgus, has ſo prevailed over all private conſiderations, that the ancient magiſtrates, emulous of giving great examples

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[b] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 478.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 131. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 657. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 211.
[d] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.
[e] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 3, p. 496.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 494.

of obedience, have always thought it their duty to ſacrifice their privileges to the claims of the ephori[g].

By a conſequence of this ſpirit, the people have not ceaſed to reſpect thoſe kings and ſenators whom they have deprived of their power. An auguſt ceremony, which is repeated monthly, continually reminds them of their duty. The kings, in their own name, and the ephori, in the name of the people, engage, by a ſolemn oath, the former to govern according to the laws, and the latter to defend the royal authority ſo long as it ſhall not violate the laws[h].

The Spartans have intereſts which are peculiar to themſelves; they have alſo others which are common to them with the deputies of the different cities of Laconia. Hence there are two kinds of aſſemblies, at which are always preſent the kings, the ſenate, and the different claſſes of the magiſtrates. When the ſucceſſion to the throne is to be regulated, when magiſtrates are to be choſen or depoſed, when ſentence is to be pronounced on public crimes, or the great objects of religion or legiſlature to be decided on, the aſſembly is only compoſed of Spartans, and is called the leſſer aſſembly[i].

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[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 690.
[i] Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 494.

The ordinary aſſembly of this kind is held every month at the full of the moon [k]; the extraordinary whenever circumſtances require. Its deliberations muſt be preceded by a decree of the ſenate [l], except the equal diviſion of voices has prevented that body from coming to any concluſion, in which caſe the ephori lay the queſtion before the aſſembly [m].

Every one preſent has a right to give his opinion, provided he has paſſed his thirtieth year, for, before that age, no one is permitted to ſpeak in public [n]. His manners alſo muſt be irreproachable. The caſe of an orator who had captivated the people with his eloquence is ſtill remembered. His advice was excellent; but, as it proceeded from an impure mouth, a ſenator aroſe, and, after loudly expreſſing his indignation againſt the eaſy compliance of the aſſembly, cauſed the ſame meaſures to be propoſed by a virtuous man. Let it not be ſaid, added he, that the Lacedæmonians ſuffered themſelves to be guided by the counſel of an infamous orator [o].

The general aſſembly is convoked whenever the queſtion relates to making war or peace, or contracting alliances. The deputies of the cities

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[k] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 67. Schol. ibid.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 40. Id. in Agid. p. 798 et 800.
[m] Plut. in Agid. t. ii. p. 799.
[n] Argum. in Declam. 24 Liban. t. i. p. 558.
[o] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288. Plut. de Andit. t. ii. p. 41.

of Laconia are then admitted to it[p]; as are alſo, frequently, thoſe of the allied ſtates[q], and of the nations who come to implore the ſuccour of Lacedæmon[r]. In it are diſcuſſed their claims and mutual complaints, the infractions of the treaties committed by the other ſtates, the modes of reconciliation, the projects of the future campaign, and the contributions to be furniſhed. The kings and ſenators frequently ſpeak, and their authority is of great weight; but that of the ephori is of ſtill greater. When the queſtion has been ſufficiently debated, one of the ephori aſks the opinion of the aſſembly. Immediately a thouſand voices loudly exclaim either for the affirmative or the negative. When, after repeated trials, it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh which has the majority, the ſame magiſtrate aſcertains it by numbering the two parties, which he cauſes to divide, one on the one ſide, and the other on the other[s].

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[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 579.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 554, 556, 558, 590.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 554; lib. 6, p. 579.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 87.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the Laws of Lacedæmon.

NATURE is almoſt always in oppoſition to the laws [t], becauſe ſhe labours only for the happineſs of the individual, without regard to the other individuals who ſurround him; while the laws only direct their attention to the relations by which he is united to them; and becauſe ſhe infinitely diverſifies our characters and inclinations, while it is the object of the laws to bring them back to unity. The legiſlator, therefore, whoſe aim it is to annihilate, or at leaſt to reconcile, theſe contrarieties, muſt conſider morals as the moſt powerful ſpring, and moſt eſſential part, of his political inſtitutions. He muſt take the work of Nature almoſt at the firſt moment ſhe has produced it, retouch its form and proportions, and ſoften without entirely effacing its great outlines; till at length he has converted the independent man into the free citizen.

That men of enlightened minds may formerly have been able to unite ſavages ſcattered through

[t] Demoſth. in Ariſtog. p. 830.

woods and foreſts, and that, every day, ſage preceptors may, in ſome meaſure, faſhion at will the characters and diſpoſitions of children committed to their care, is not difficult to be conceived; but how powerful muſt have been that genius who could new-model a nation already formed! What courage muſt he not have diſplayed who could dare to ſay to a people: I will reſtrain your wants to the indiſpenſable demands of neceſſity, and exact from your paſſions the moſt ſevere mortifications; you ſhall no longer know the allurements of pleaſure, but exchange the ſofter enjoyments of life for laborious and painful exerciſes. I will deprive ſome of you of your poſſeſſions to diſtribute them to others, and the poor ſhall be raiſed to an equality with the rich. You ſhall renounce your ideas, your taſtes, your habits, your claims, and even thoſe tender and precious ſentiments which nature has profoundly engraven on your hearts!

Yet this, nevertheleſs, is what Lycurgus effected, by regulations which differ ſo eſſentially from thoſe of other nations, that the traveller, on his arrival at Lacedæmon, is ready to imagine himſelf tranſported into a new world. Their ſingularity invites him to reflect, and he is ſoon loſt in admiration at that profundity of views, and elevation of ſentiment, that ſhine conſpicuous in the work of Lycurgus.

This legiſlator ordained that the magiſtrates ſhould not be appointed by lot, but elected by ſuffrages [u]. He deprived riches of the influence and reſpect annexed to them [x], and diveſted even love of jealouſy [y]. Though he granted ſome diſtinctions, the government, which had deeply imbibed his ſpirit, never prodigally laviſhed them, and virtuous men dared not ſolicit them. Honour became the moſt valuable reward, and opprobrium the moſt cruel puniſhment. Death was ſometimes inflicted; but ſuch a ſentence muſt be preceded by a careful and vigorous examination, ſince nothing is ſo precious as the life of a citizen [z]. Execution was performed in the priſon, and during the night [a], that the firmneſs of the criminal might not move the commiſeration of the people; and his life was taken away by the cord [b], for it appeared uſeleſs to multiply his ſufferings.

I ſhall point out as I proceed the greater part of the regulations of Lycurgus; I here mean to ſpeak of the diviſion of the lands. The propoſition which he made to this purpoſe met with great oppoſition: but, after the moſt violent conteſts, the

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[u] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p, 261. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 374.

[x] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[y] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 132. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

[a] Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 146. Val. Max. lib. 4, cap. 6.

[b] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 803 et 804.

diſtrict of Sparta was divided into nine thouſand portions of land *, and the reſt of Laconia into thirty thouſand. Each portion aſſigned to a head of a family muſt produce, beſides a certain quantity of wine and oil, ſeventy meaſures of barley for himſelf, and twelve for his wife [c].

After having effected this, Lycurgus thought it adviſable to abſent himſelf, and give time for the paſſions of the people to ſubſide and cool. On his return he found the fields of Laconia covered with cluſters of ſheaves, all of the ſame ſize, and placed at diſtances nearly equal. He ſeemed to himſelf to behold a large domain, the productions of which had been divided among brethren; while the Lacedæmonians believed they ſaw in him a father who had manifeſted no more fondneſs for one than for the reſt of his children [d].

But how may this equality of property be preſerved? Before Lycurgus, the legiſlator of Crete had not ventured to eſtabliſh it; ſince he permitted acquiſitions [e]. After Lycurgus, Phaleas at Chalcedon [f], Philolaus at Thebes [g], Plato [h], and other legiſlators and philoſophers, have propoſed differ-

* See note at the end of the volume.

[c] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.

[d] Id. ibid. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, § 3, p. 300.

[e] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 489.

[f] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 322.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 337.

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 740.

ent ineffectual methods of ſolving this problem. It was given to Lycurgus to attempt the moſt extraordinary and reconcile the moſt oppoſite things. In fact, by one of his laws, he has regulated the number of inheritances by the number of citizens [h]*; and by another, in which he has granted certain exemptions to thoſe who have three children, and ſtill greater to thoſe who have four [i], he has riſked deſtroying the proportion he wiſhed to eſtabliſh, and reſtoring the diſtinction between the rich and the poor that he propoſed to deſtroy.

When I was at Sparta, the regularity of the poſſeſſions of individuals had been deranged by a decree of the ephorus Epitades, who wiſhed to avenge himſelf of his ſon [k]; and as I neglected to inform myſelf of their ancient ſtate, I ſhall only be able to explain the views of the legiſlator on this ſubject by recurring to his principles.

According to the laws of Lycurgus, the head of a family could neither buy nor ſell a portion of land [l]; he could neither give it during his life, nor bequeath it by will, to whom he pleaſed [m]. He was not even permitted to divide it [n]. The eldeſt

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[h]* Polyb. lib. 6, p. 489.

[i] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 330. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 6.

[k] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.

[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 329.

[m] Plut. ibid.

[n] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

of his children was entitled to the inheritance[o], in the ſame manner as in the royal family the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded by right to the crown[p]. What proviſion then was made for the other children? Did the laws which enſured their ſubſiſtence during the life of their father entirely abandon them after his death?

1ſt. It appears that they might inherit ſlaves, the ſavings of their father, and moveables of every kind. The produce of the ſale of theſe effects was doubtleſs ſufficient to ſupply them with clothing, for the cloth which they wore was of ſo low a price that the pooreſt perſons were able to procure it[q]. 2d. Each citizen had a right to partake of the public repaſts, and furniſhed for his contingent a certain quantity of barley-meal, which may be eſtimated at about twelve medimni. But the Spartan who poſſeſſed one of the portions of land derived from it every year ſeventy medimni, and his wife twelve. The ſurplus of the huſband was then ſufficient for the maintenance of five children; but Lycurgus could not ſuppoſe that every father of a family would have ſo many. We may therefore preſume that the eldeſt ſon was to provide for the wants not only of his children, but of his brothers. 3d. It is not improbable that the younger

[o] Emm. Deſcript. Reip. Lacon. in Antiq. Græc. t. iv. p. 483.
[p] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 42, &c.
[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 374. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

ſons only could eſpouſe the daughters who, in default of male iſſue, inherited a portion of land; for without this precaution the inheritances would have accumulated in one perſon. 4th. After the examination which followed the birth of children, the magiſtrates aſſigned them portions of land [r], become vacant by the extinction of ſome families. 5th. In theſe modern times frequent wars have deſtroyed a great number of the Spartans, and in former ages they planted colonies in diſtant countries. 6th. The ſettlement of daughters coſt nothing, as it was forbidden to give them any marriage portion [s]. 7th. The ſpirit of union and diſintereſtedneſs rendering, in ſome meaſure, all things common among the citizens [t], the one claſs had often no other advantage over the other than that of preventing and gratifying their deſires.

While this ſpirit remained undiminiſhed, the conſtitution was proof againſt thoſe ſhocks which it now begins to feel. But what ſhall hereafter ſupport it, ſince, by the decree of which I have ſpoken, every citizen is permitted to give portions to his daughters, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of his ſhare of the lands? The inheritances paſs every day into different hands, and the equilibrium of

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[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.
[s] Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 3. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.
[t] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 317. Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

fortunes, as well as that of equality, is entirely deſtroyed.

I return to the regulations of Lycurgus. The lands as well as the perſons of the Spartans were to be free from all impoſitions. The ſtate had no treaſure [u]. On certain occaſions the citizens contributed according to their abilities [x], and on others had recourſe to means which evince their exceſſive poverty. The deputies of Samos once came to Lacedæmon to ſolicit the loan of a ſum of money. The aſſembly of the people, having no other reſource, ordered a general faſt to be obſerved by the free citizens, ſlaves, and domeſtic animals, and gave the ſum they had thus ſaved to the Samians [y].

Every thing bowed before the genius of Lycurgus. The deſire of excluſive property began to diſappear, and violent paſſions no longer diſturbed the public order. But this calm would only be an additional evil if the legiſlator were unable to enſure its duration. The laws alone could not produce this great effect. If the citizens accuſtom themſelves to contemn thoſe regulations which are the leaſt important, they will ſoon proceed to neglect thoſe which are of the greateſt conſequence. If the laws are too numerous; if they are ſilent in

[u] Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 80. Pericl. ap. eumd. lib. 1, cap. 141. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 331.

[y] Id. de Curâ Rei Fam. t. ii. p. 503.

many caſes, and in others ſpeak with the obſcurity of oracles; if every judge be permitted to interpret their ſenſe, and every citizen to complain of them; if, even on the moſt trivial points, they add to the conſtraint on our liberty the degrading tone of menace; in vain may they be engraven on marble, they can never be imprinted on the heart.

Lycurgus, attentive to the irreſiſtible power of the impreſſions which man receives in his infancy, and during his whole life, had been long confirmed in the choice of a ſyſtem which had been approved by experience in Crete. Let all the children be educated in common, in the ſame diſcipline, and in the ſame invariable principles, under the eyes of the magiſtrates and the whole people. They will learn their duties by practiſing them, and will afterwards love becauſe they have practiſed them, and will never ceaſe to revere them ſince they ſee them practiſed by all around them. Theſe cuſtoms the longer they ſubſiſt will acquire an invincible ſtrength from their antiquity and univerſality. An uninterrupted ſucceſſion of examples given and received will render each citizen the legiſlator of his neighbour, to whom he will be a living rule [z]. He will acquire the merit of obedience by yielding to the force of habit, and will imagine himſelf to act freely ſince he acts without an effort.

[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

It will therefore be ſufficient for the inſtitutor of a nation to frame a ſmall number of laws[a] for each part of the adminiſtration, which will diſpenſe from the deſire of a greater number, and contribute to maintain the authority of rites and uſages, much more powerful than that of the laws themſelves. He will forbid them to be committed to writing[b], that they may not ſet bounds to virtues, and leſt the people, imagining they have done all their duty requires, ſhould deſiſt and not do all they are able to perform. But he will not conceal them: they ſhall be tranſmitted from mouth to mouth, cited on all occaſions, and known to all the citizens, the witneſſes and judges of each individual. It ſhall not be permitted to youth to cenſure them, nor even to ſubmit them to examination[c], ſince they have been received as the commands of Heaven, and ſince the authority of the laws is only founded on the profound veneration they inſpire. Neither ſhall it be allowed to praiſe the laws and uſages of foreign nations[d], ſince, unleſs the people are perſuaded they live under the beſt of legiſlations, they will quickly deſire a new one.

Let us not, therefore, be aſtoniſhed that obedi-

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[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 227. Id. in Lycurg. ibid.
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 634.
[d] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 556.

ence is with the Spartans the first of virtues [e]; or that those haughty people never come, with the text of the law in their hands, to demand of their magistrates an account of the sentences they have pronounced in their tribunals.

Neither ought it to excite our surprise that Lycurgus has considered education as the most important object of the care of the legislator [f]; and that to establish an authority over the hearts and minds of the Spartans, he has early subjected them to the arduous exercises and discipline of which I shall next proceed to treat.

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[e] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the Education of the Spartans.

THE laws of Sparta watch with an extreme care over the education of children [g]. They ordain that it ſhall be public, and common to the rich and to the poor [h]. They anticipate the moment of their birth. When any woman has declared her pregnancy, pictures of youth and beauty, ſuch as thoſe of Apollo, Narciſſus, Hyacinth, Caſtor, and Pollux, are hung in her apartment, in order that her imagination, inceſſantly impreſſed by theſe objects, may tranſmit ſome traces of them to the child ſhe bears in her womb [i].

Scarcely is the infant born, when he is preſented to the aſſembly of the moſt aged perſons of the tribe to which his family belongs. The nurſe is called, who, inſtead of water, waſhes him with wine, which, it is pretended, would have very ill effects on weak conſtitutions. After this trial, which is followed by a rigorous examination, his

[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 450.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 374.
[i] Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1, v. 357.

ſentence is pronounced; and if it is not judged expedient, either for himſelf or the republic, that he ſhould long enjoy life, he is caſt into a gulph near Mount Taygetus. If he appears healthy and well formed, he is choſen, in the name of his country, to be hereafter one of her defenders [k].

When brought back to the houſe, he is laid on a buckler, and near this military cradle is placed a ſpear, that this weapon may be one of the firſt objects that become familiar to his eyes [l].

His delicate limbs are not confined with bands that prevent their motions: no care is taken to ſtop his tears, when it is neceſſary they ſhould flow, but they are never excited by menaces and blows. He is accuſtomed by degrees to ſolitude, darkneſs, and the greateſt indifference in the choice of eatables [m]. He is alike a ſtranger to impreſſions of terror, uſeleſs reſtraints, and unjuſt reproaches. Continually occupied in innocent ſports, he enjoys all the ſweets of life, and his happineſs haſtens the expanſion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind.

At the age of ſeven years, at which he arrives without having known ſervile fear, domeſtic education commonly ends [n]. The father is aſked if

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[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

[l] Non. Dionyſ. lib. 41, p. 1062. Schol. Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 39.

[m] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49.

[n] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 50.

he is willing his child ſhould be educated according to the laws. If he refuſes, he is himſelf deprived of the rights of a citizen [o]: if he conſents, the child will for the future have for his guardians not only his parents but alſo the laws, the magiſtrates, and all the citizens, who are authorized to interrogate, to adviſe, and to chaſtiſe him, without fear of being accuſed of ſeverity, ſince they would themſelves be puniſhed if, when they were witneſſes of his faults, they had the weakneſs to ſpare him [p]. At the head of the children is placed one of the moſt reſpectable men of the republic [q]. He diſtributes them into different claſſes, over each of which preſides a young chief diſtinguiſhed by his ſenſe and courage. They muſt ſubmit without a murmur to the orders they receive from him and the chaſtiſements he impoſes on them, which are inflicted with rods by young perſons arrived at the age of puberty [r].

The regulations to which they are ſubjected become from day to day more rigid. Their hair is cut off, and they walk without ſtockings or ſhoes, to accuſtom them to bear the rigour of the ſeaſons. They are ſometimes made to exerciſe quite naked [s].

At the age of twelve years they lay aſide the

[o] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 237.
[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 677.
[s] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

tunic, and wear only a cloak which muſt laſt them a whole year [t]. They are rarely permitted the uſe of baths and perfumes. Each company lies together on the tops of reeds that grow in the river, and which they break off with their hands without employing any iron inſtrument [u].

Then is it that they begin to contract thoſe intimate connexions which are little known in other nations, and more pure at Lacedæmon than in the other cities of Greece. It is permitted to each of them to receive the aſſiduous attentions of a virtuous young man, attracted by the charms of beauty, and the ſtill more powerful charms of virtue, of which beauty appears to be the emblem [x]. The youth of Sparta is thus, as it were, divided into two claſſes, the one conſiſting of thoſe who love, and the other of thoſe who are beloved [y]. The firſt, deſtined to ſerve as models to the ſecond, carry even to enthuſiaſm a ſentiment which produces the moſt noble emulation, and which, with the tranſports of love, is, in reality, only the paſſionate tenderneſs of a father for his ſon, or the ardent friendſhip of a brother for his brother [z]. When ſeveral feel the divine inſpiration, for ſuch

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[t] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 3.

[u] Plut. ibid.

[x] Plut. ibid.

[y] Theocr. Idyll. 12, v. 12. Schol. ibid. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. 24, p. 284.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.

is the name they give to their attachment [a] for one object, far from being tormented with jealouſy, they are only the more united to each other, and the more ardent in promoting the improvement of him whom they love; for all their ambition is to render him as eſtimable in the eyes of others as he is in their own [b]. One of the moſt virtuous of the citizens was condemned to pay a fine for having never attached himſelf to any young man [c], and another becauſe his young friend had, in battle, cried out through fear [d].

Theſe aſſociations, which have often produced great effects [e], are common to both ſexes [f], and ſometimes only end with life. They had long been eſtabliſhed in Crete [g]. Lycurgus knew their value, and foreſaw the dangers to which they were expoſed. But, beſides that the leaſt blemiſh on a union which ought to be ſacred, and which almoſt always is ſo [h], would for ever cover the guilty perſon with infamy [i], and even, according to circum-

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[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678; et in Conviv. p. 873 et 883. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 9.
[b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.
[c] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 10.
[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Ælian. ibid.
[e] Plat. Sympoſ. t. iii. p. 178.
[f] Plut. ibid.
[g] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2824. Strab. lib. 10, p. 483. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 4, cap. 1.
[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678. Plat. ibid. Max. Tyr. Diſſert. 26, p. 317.
[i] Plut. Inſt. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

ſtances, be puniſhed with death [k], the young pupils cannot withdraw themſelves for a moment from the ſight of the aged perſons, who conſider it as their duty to be preſent at and maintain decency in their exerciſes, nor from the obſervation of the preſident general of education, or that of the iren or particular leader of each diviſion.

This iren is a youth of twenty years of age, who, as a reward for his courage and prudence, receives the honour of being appointed to give leſſons to a number of other youths committed to his care [l]. He is at their head when they encounter each other, when they ſwim over the Eurotas, when they hunt, wreſtle, run, or engage in the different exerciſes of the gymnaſium. On their return home, they take a wholeſome and frugal meal [m], which they prepare themſelves. The ſtrongeſt bring the wood, and the weaker herbs, and other proviſion, which they have conveyed away by ſtealth from the gardens, or the halls in which the public repaſts are held. If they are diſcovered they are ſometimes whipped, to which chaſtiſement is often added a prohibition from approaching the table [n]. Sometimes they are dragged to an altar, which they muſt go round, ſinging verſes in ridicule of themſelves [o].

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[k] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 12.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 50.
[m] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.
[n] Id. in Lycurg. ibid.
[o] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. ibid.

When the ſupper is over, their young leader orders ſome of them to ſing, and propoſes queſtions to others, from their anſwers to which a judgment may be formed of their wit or their ſentiments; ſuch as: Who is the worthieſt man in the city? What do you think of ſuch an action? The reply muſt be preciſe, and accompanied with a reaſon. Thoſe who ſpeak without reflection receive ſlight chaſtiſements, in preſence of the magiſtrates and aged men, who attend at theſe converſations, and are ſometimes diſſatisfied with the ſentences of the young leader: but through fear of weakening his authority they wait till he is alone before they puniſh him for his indulgence or ſeverity [p].

The youth of Lacedæmon receive but a ſlight tincture of literature; but they are taught to expreſs themſelves with purity, to perform in the choruſes of dancing and muſic, to perpetuate in their verſes the memory of thoſe who have died for their country, and the ſhame of thoſe who have betrayed it. In theſe poems great ideas are expreſſed with ſimplicity, and elevated ſentiments with an animated warmth [q].

Every day the ephori attend on their youthful pupils, who, from time to time, go to the ephori, who examine whether their education has been

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[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 53.

carefully conducted, whether any improper delicacy has been ſuffered to inſinuate itſelf into their beds or apparel, and whether they are diſpoſed to corpulency [r]. This laſt article is conſidered as of great importance: the magiſtrates of Sparta have been known to cite before the tribunal of the nation, and threaten with baniſhment, citizens whoſe exceſſive corpulence ſeemed to be a proof of luxurious indolence [s]. A Spartan would bluſh to have an effeminate countenance. The body, as it increaſes in ſize, muſt acquire ſuppleneſs and ſtrength, ſtill preſerving its juſt proportions [t].

This is the object propoſed in ſubjecting the Spartans to labours which occupy almoſt every moment of their time. They paſs a great part of the day in the gymnaſium, where we do not find, as in other cities, thoſe maſters who teach their diſciples the art of adroitly ſupplanting an adverſary [u]. Here ſtratagem would diſgrace courage, and ſtain that honour which ought to accompany defeat as well as victory. Hence is it that, in certain exerciſes, it is not permitted to the Spartan who is overcome to lift his hand as a ſign of ſubmiſſion, ſince that would be to acknowledge a conqueror [x].

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[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14, cap. 7.
[s] Agatharch. ap. Athen. lib. 12, p. 550. Ælian. ibid.
[t] Ælian. ibid.
[u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233.
[x] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Senec. de Benef. lib. 5, cap. 3.

I have often been preſent at the combats in which the youth who have arrived at the age of eighteen years engage in the plataniſtas. They prepare themſelves for this exerciſe in their college, ſituated in the town of Therapne. They are divided into two bodies, one of which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Hercules, and the other by that of Lycurgus[y]. They jointly ſacrifice, during the night, a little dog on the altar of Mars. It has been imagined that the moſt courageous of domeſtic animals muſt be the victim moſt acceptable to the moſt courageous of the gods. After the ſacrifice, each party brings a tamed wild boar, which they excite and irritate againſt that of their antagoniſts, and if he remains conqueror it is deemed a favourable omen.

The next day, about noon, the young warriors advance in order, and by different ways, which are determined by lot, towards the field of battle. At a ſignal given, they attack each other, and gain and give ground by turns. Preſently their ardour gradually increaſes; they aſſault each other with their hands and feet, and even make uſe of their teeth and nails. They continue a diſadvantageous conteſt notwithſtanding the moſt painful wounds, and riſk the loſs of life rather than ſubmit to a defeat[z]. Their ferocity ſometimes even ap-

[y] Lucian. de Gymnaſ. t. ii. p. 919.
[z] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5, cap. 27, t. ii. p. 383.

pears to increaſe as their ſtrength diminiſhes. One of them, when on the point of throwing his antagoniſt to the ground, ſuddenly cried out: "You bite me like a woman." "No," replied the other, "I bite like a lion[a]." The action paſſes under the eyes of five magiſtrates[b], who with a word may moderate the fury of the combatants, and a multitude of ſpectators, who by turns laviſh praiſes on the conquerors, or load the vanquiſhed with ſarcaſms. It ends when one of the parties is obliged to ſwim over the Eurotas, or a canal which, together with that river, encloſes the plataniſtas[c].

I have ſeen other combats in which the greateſt fortitude contends with the moſt extreme ſufferings. At a feſtival celebrated every year in honour of Diana, ſurnamed Orthia, youthful Spartans, ſcarcely out of their infancy, and choſen from among all the different claſſes of the people, are brought to the altar, and ſeverely whipped till the blood begins to ſtream. The prieſteſs of the goddeſs is preſent, and holds in her hand a very ſmall and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioners appear moved with compaſſion, the prieſteſs exclaims that ſhe is no longer able to bear the weight of the ſtatue. The ſtrokes then re-

[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.
[b] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 231.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 14, p. 243.

double, and the attention of all preſent becomes more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhort them, with frantic cries, not to ſuffer the ſmalleſt complaint to eſcape them [d], while they themſelves provoke and defy pain. The preſence of ſo many witneſſes, who watch their ſmalleſt motions, and the hope of victory to be decreed to him who ſhall ſuffer with the greateſt conſtancy, ſo ſteel them againſt their pangs, that they endure theſe horrid tortures with a ſerene countenance and a joy at which humanity ſhudders [e].

Aſtoniſhed at their firmneſs, I ſaid to Damonax, who was with me: It muſt be acknowledged that your laws are faithfully obſerved. Say, rather, replied he, ſhamefully abuſed. The ceremony of which you have been a ſpectator was formerly inſtituted in honour of a barbarous divinity whoſe ſtatue and worſhip, it is pretended, Oreſtes brought from Taurica to Lacedæmon [f]. The oracle had commanded that human ſacrifices ſhould be offered to this new deity. Lycurgus aboliſhed the horrid cuſtom, but, as an indemnification to ſuperſtition, directed that the young Spartans who were condemned to be ſcourged for

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[d] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 2, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 288. Senec. de Provid. cap. 4. Stat. Theb. lib. 8, v. 437. Luctat. ibid. in Not.

[e] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. i. p. 239.

[f] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 23, p. 642. Hygin. Fab. 261. Meurſ. Græc. Fer. lib. 2, in Διαμαστίγ.

their faults, ſhould undergo their puniſhment at the altar of the goddeſs [g].

The expreſs terms and ſpirit of the law ſhould have been adhered to. A ſlight chaſtiſement was all that was intended [h]; but our ſenſeleſs applauſes excite, both here and in the plataniſtas, a deteſtable emulation among our youth. Their tortures are to us an object of curioſity, and to them a ſubject of triumph. Our fathers were only acquainted with the heroiſm which was uſeful to their country, and their virtues were neither raiſed above, nor ſunk below the level of their duties; but ours, ſince they have been infected with vanity, exhibit features ſo ſwelled and diſtorted that they are no longer recognizable. This change, which has taken place ſince the Peloponneſian war, is a ſtriking ſymptom of the decline and corruption of our manners. The exaggeration of evil excites only contempt, but that of good ſurpriſes eſteem: it is then imagined that the luſtre of an extraordinary action diſpenſes from the moſt ſacred obligations. If this abuſe continues, our youth will at length only poſſeſs the courage of oſtentation. They will brave death at the altar of Diana, and fly at the ſight of the enemy [i].

You recollect the child who, the other day,

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 249.
[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677.
[i] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

having concealed a young fox under his garments, ſuffered it to eat into his bowels rather than confeſs his theft [k]. His obſtinacy appeared ſo unuſual, that his companions loudly blamed him. But, replied I, it was only the natural conſequence of your inſtitutions; for he obſerved that it was better to periſh in torments than to live in ignominy [l]. It was not, therefore, without reaſon that ſome philoſophers have aſſerted that your exerciſes inſtil a ſpecies of ferocity into the minds of your young warriors [m].

They attack us, replied Damonax, when they perceive we have fallen. Lycurgus had guarded againſt the overflowing of our virtues by mounds which have ſubſiſted during four centuries, and of which ſome traces ſtill remain. Have we not lately ſeen a Spartan, though he had ſignalized himſelf by great exploits, puniſhed for having fought without his buckler [n]? But, in proportion as our manners loſe their purity, falſe honour refuſes to ſubmit to reſtraint, and communicates itſelf inſenſibly to all the orders of the ſtate. Formerly the women of Sparta, more prudent and decent than they are at preſent, when they were informed of the death of their ſons, ſlain on the

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[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51.
[l] Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 452.
[n] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 615.

field of battle, were contented with ſhewing themſelves ſuperior to the feelings of nature; at preſent they make a merit of inſulting them, and, that they may not be charged with weakneſs, do not heſitate to aſſume an unnatural ferocity. Such was the anſwer of Damonax: I now return to the education of the Spartans.

In ſeveral cities of Greece, youth when they have attained their eighteenth year are no longer under the vigilant eye of their preceptors [o]. Lycurgus was too well acquainted with the human heart to abandon it to itſelf at that critical moment, on which, almoſt always, depends the fate of the man, and often that of the ſtate. He counteracted the expanſion of the paſſions by a new courſe of exerciſes and labours. The leaders then require from their diſciples more modeſty, ſubmiſſion, temperance, and ardour; and it is a ſingular ſpectacle to ſee theſe illuſtrious youths, who might well be inſpired with all the pride of courage and of beauty, not daring, if I may ſo ſpeak, to open their lips, or lift their eyes, and walking with ſlow ſteps, and all the reſerve of a timid maiden carrying the ſacred offerings [p]. Yet, unleſs ſome powerful motive animates this regularity and decency of appearance, modeſty may reign in the countenance while vice triumphs in the heart.

[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 679.

Lycurgus has therefore ſtationed around them a body of ſpies and rivals, by whom they are inceſſantly watched.

No method can be more proper than this to inſpire and preſerve the purity of virtue. Place by the ſide of a young man another of the ſame age with himſelf, as an example, and he will hate him if he cannot equal his merit, and deſpiſe him if he obtains a triumph without difficulty. On the contrary, place one body of youths in emulative oppoſition to another, and, as it will be eaſy to proportion the ſtrength and vary the compoſition of each, the honour of victory and the ſhame of defeat will neither too much inflate or humiliate the individuals of which it conſiſts, but a rivalry will take place among them accompanied by eſteem; their relations and their friends will haſten to participate in it, and ſome ſimple exerciſes will become intereſting exhibitions to all the citizens.

The young Spartans frequently leave their ſports to engage in exerciſes which inure them to greater addreſs and expedition. They are commanded to diſperſe themſelves through the country, with arms in their hands, bare-footed, and expoſed to all the inclemencies of the ſeaſons, without ſlaves to ſerve them, or covering to defend them from the cold during the night [q].

[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 663.

Sometimes they make obſervations on the nature of the country, and the beſt manner of defending it from the incurſions of the enemy[r]: ſometimes they hunt wild boars, or other beaſts of the chace[s]; and ſometimes, to exerciſe themſelves in the various manœuvres of the military art, they lie in ambuſcade during the day, and in the following night attack and kill thoſe Helots who, though informed of their danger, have yet been ſo imprudent as to be found in their way[t]*.

Girls at Sparta are not brought up like thoſe of Athens. They are not obliged to keep themſelves ſhut up in their apartments, to ſpin wool, and to abſtain from wine or too ſtrong meats; but they are taught to dance, to ſing, to run ſwiftly in the ſtadium, and to throw with force the quoit or javelin[u]. They perform all theſe exerciſes without a veil, and half naked[x], in the preſence of the kings, the magiſtrates, and all the citizens, without even excepting the unmarried young men, whom they excite to diſtinguiſh themſelves ſome-

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[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, p. 763.

[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680.

[t] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 806. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.

[x] Eurip. in Androm. v. 598. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

times

times by flattering praiſes, and ſometimes by ſarcaſtic ironies[y].

Amid theſe ſports is it that two hearts deſtined one day to unite firſt begin to cheriſh thoſe ſentiments which muſt enſure their happineſs[z] *. But the tranſports of an infant paſſion are never conſummated by a premature marriage †. Wherever children are permitted to perpetuate families, the human ſpecies is ſeen ſenſibly to dwindle and degenerate[a]. At Lacedæmon men have preſerved their original vigour, becauſe they do not marry till the body has arrived at its full growth, and their judgment become mature to direct them in their choice[b].

To the good qualities of their minds the pair who wiſh to unite muſt add a maſculine beauty, an advantageous ſtature, and full health[c]. Lycurgus, and after him many diſcerning philoſophers, have conſidered it as abſurd that ſo much care ſhould be taken to improve the breed of certain domeſtic animals, while that of men is entirely neglected[d]. The event has correſponded

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[y] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.
[z] Id. ibid.
* See note at the end of the volume.
† See note at the end of the volume.
[a] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 16, t. ii. p. 446.
[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 77. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.
[c] Plut. de Lib. Educ. t. ii. p. 1.
[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 459. Theogn. Sent. v. 183. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49.

with his views, and happy unions ſeem to have given an additional degree of ſtrength and majeſty to human nature[e]. In fact, the purity of the Spartan blood is equalled among no people.

I ſhall not enter into a minute detail of the marriage ceremonies[f]; but I muſt not omit to mention a cuſtom remarkable for its ſingularity. When the marriage is concluded, the bridegroom, after a ſlight repaſt, which he takes in the public hall, repairs, at the beginning of the night, to the houſe of his new relations; he ſecretly carries off his bride, takes her home, and ſoon after returns to the gymnaſium, to rejoin his comrades, with whom he continues to live as before. On the following days he frequents, as uſual, his father's houſe, but he can only indulge his paſſion in thoſe moments in which he deceives the vigilance of thoſe who ſurround him; it would be a ſhame to him ſhould he be ſeen coming out of the apartment of his wife[g]. He ſometimes lives whole years in this clandeſtine intercourſe, in which the myſtery adds ſo many charms to the ſurpriſes and furtive enjoyments of love. Lycurgus knew that deſires too ſoon and too often ſatisfied terminate in indifference or diſguſt; he was careful therefore to cheriſh and preſerve them, that the married

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[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
[f] Athen. lib. 14, p. 646. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 240.
[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.

pair might have time to accuſtom themſelves to the faults of each other; and that love, inſenſibly ſtripped of its illuſions, might arrive at perfection by transforming into friendſhip[h]. Hence the happy harmony which reigns in theſe families, the heads of which, obedient to the will of each other, ſeem every day more cloſely to unite by a new choice, and inceſſantly preſent the pleaſing image of the moſt exalted courage joined with the moſt perfect mildneſs.

Very weighty reaſons may authorize a Spartan not to marry[i]; but in his old age he muſt not hope to be treated with the ſame reſpect as the other citizens. As a proof of this, an anecdote is related of Dercyllidas, who had commanded armies with ſo much glory[k]. That general came one day into the aſſembly, when a young man ſaid to him: I ſhall not riſe to you, becauſe you will leave no children who may one day riſe to me[l]. Thoſe who live in celibacy are alſo expoſed to other humiliations. They may not be preſent at the exerciſes in which the girls engage half naked; the magiſtrate may alſo, in the midſt of winter, command them to ſtrip off their clothes,

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.
[i] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676.
[k] Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 490, &c.
[l] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

and go round the forum, ſinging ſarcaſtic verſes on themſelves, in which they acknowledge that their diſobedience to the laws merits the chaſtiſement they ſuffer[m].

[m] Plut. in Lycurg. t. 1. p. 48.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Spartans.

THIS chapter is only a continuation of the preceding; for the education of the Spartans continues, if I may ſo ſpeak, during their whole life[n].

From the age of twenty years they ſuffer their hair and beard to grow. The hair is an ornament, and becomes the free man and the warrior[o]. They are accuſtomed to obedience in the moſt indifferent things. When the ephori enter on office, they proclaim, by ſound of trumpet, a decree, commanding the people to ſhave their upper lip, and to ſubmit to the laws[p]. Here every thing conduces to inſtruction. A Spartan being aſked why he wore ſo long a beard, replied: Since it is grown white, it inceſſantly reminds me not to diſhonour my old age[q].

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[n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.

[o] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 82. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

[p] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808. Id. de Sera Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 550.

[q] Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.

The Spartans, by baniſhing every kind of ornament from their dreſs, have given an example admired but no where imitated by other nations. Among them, kings, magiſtrates, and the loweſt of the citizens, are not diſtinguiſhable by their external appearance[r]. They all wear a very ſhort[s], and very coarſe, woollen tunic[t], over which they throw a mantle, or a large cloak[u]. On their feet they wear ſandals, or ſhoes, commonly of a red colour[x]. Two heroes of Lacedæmon, Caſtor and Pollux, are repreſented with caps which, if joined by the bottom, would reſemble the form of that egg from which it is pretended they derived their origin[y]. The caps the Spartans now wear are ſtill of the ſame ſhape. Some tie them tight with ſtrings that go behind the ears[z]; others begin to wear inſtead of them thoſe of the courteſans of Greece. "The Lacedæmonians are no longer invincible," ſaid, in my time, the poet Antiphanes; "the nets in which they bind their hair are dyed purple[a]."

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[r] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 6. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 374.

[s] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210.

[t] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 474. Schol. ibid.

[u] Demoſth. in Canon. p. 1113. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.

[x] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1, cap. 18.

[y] Meurſ. ibid. cap. 17.

[z] Id. ibid.

[a] Antiph. ap. Athen. lib. 15, cap. 8, p. 681. Caſaub. ibid. t. ii. p. 610.

They were the firſt after the Cretans who performed the exerciſes of the gymnaſium entirely naked[b]. This cuſtom was afterwards introduced in the Olympic games[c], and has ceaſed to be indecent ſince it is become common[d].

They appear in public with large ſticks, hooked at the top[e]; but they are forbidden to carry them in the general aſſembly[f], becauſe the affairs of ſtate ought to be determined by ſtrength of argument, and not by force of arms.

The houſes of Lacedæmon are ſmall, and built without art. Their doors are only to be ſmoothed with the ſaw, and their floors with the ax. Trunks of trees, ſcarcely diveſted of their bark, ſerve as beams[g]. Their furniture, though more elegant[h], participates of the ſame ſimplicity. It is never confuſedly heaped together. The Spartans have immediately at hand whatever they want, for they make it a duty to keep every thing in its place[i]; and theſe little attentions maintain among them the love of order and diſcipline.

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[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 452. Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 856.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 6. Schol. ibid.
[d] Plat. ibid.
[e] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 1283. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 74 et 539. Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Caſaub. ibid.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 47. Id. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210 et 227.
[h] Id. in Lycurg. p. 45.
[i] Ariſtot. Œcon. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 495.

Their diet is coarſe and ſparing. A foreigner who ſhould ſee them recumbent round their table and ſtretched on the field of battle, would prefer their death to their life[k]. Yet has Lycurgus only retrenched all ſuperfluity from their repaſts; and if they are frugal, it is rather from virtue than neceſſity. They are not in want of butchers meat[l]. Mount Taygetus furniſhes them with plenty of veniſon[m]; their plains with hares, partridges, and other kinds of game, and the ſea and the Eurotas with fiſh[n]. Their cheeſe of Gythium is in great eſtimation °*, and they have beſides different kinds of pulſe, fruits, bread, and cakes[p].

It is true their cooks are only to dreſs plain[q], and never to prepare artificial diſhes, except their black broth[r]. This is a ſauce the compoſition of which I have forgotten †, and in which the Spar-

[k] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13, cap. 38. Stob. Serm. 29, p. 208. Athen. lib. 4, p. 138.

[l] Athen. lib. 4, p. 139.

[m] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20, p. 261.

[n] Athen. lib. 4, p. 141; lib. 14, p. 654. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1, cap. 13.

° Lucian. in Meretric. t. iii. p. 321.

* This cheeſe is ſtill in great requeſt in the country. (See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 63.)

[p] Meurſ. ibid. cap. 12 et 13.

[q] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14, cap. 7.

[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Id. in Agid. p. 810. Poll. lib. 6, cap. 9, § 57.

† Meurſius (Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1, cap. 8) conjectures that the black broth was made of pork gravy, to which were added vinegar and ſalt. It appears, in fact, that the Spartan cooks were not allowed to uſe any other ſeaſoning than ſalt and vinegar. (Plut. de Sanitat. Tuend. t. ii. p. 128.)

tans dip their bread. They prefer it to the moſt exquiſite dainties [s]. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, wiſhed to adorn his table with ſo celebrated a diſh. He procured a Lacedæmonian cook, and ordered him to ſpare neither pains nor expence; but when the broth was ſerved up, the king, having taſted of it, rejected it with diſguſt and indignation. "My "lord," ſaid the ſlave, "an eſſential ſeaſoning is wanting." "What is that?" ſaid the monarch. "Violent exerciſe before the meal," replied the Lacedæmonian [t].

Laconia produces ſeveral kinds of wines. That from the vintage of the five hills, at the diſtance of ſeven ſtadia from Sparta, exhales an odour as fragrant as the perfume of flowers [u]. That which is boiled, muſt boil till a fifth part is evaporated. It is kept four years before it is drank [x]. At their meals the cup does not paſs from hand to hand, as among other nations; but each perſon empties his own, which is immediately filled again by the ſlave who waits at table [y]. They may drink as often as they have occaſion [z], a permiſſion which they

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[s] Plut. Inſtitut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 286.

[t] Id. ibid. Cicer. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. 5, cap. 34, t. ii. p. 389. Stob. Serm. 29, p. 208.

[u] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 1, cap. 24, p. 31.

[x] Democr. Geopon. lib. 7, cap. 4. Pallad. ap. Script. Rei Ruſtic. lib. 11, tit. 14, t. ii. p. 990.

[y] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 10, p. 432; lib. 11, cap. 3, p. 463.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 208.

never abuſe [a]. The diſguſting ſight of a ſlave who is ſometimes made drunk and brought before them while they are children, inſpires them with a rooted averſion to drunkenneſs [b], and their minds are too noble ever to ſubmit voluntarily to degrade themſelves. Such is the ſpirit of the anſwer which a Spartan returned to ſome one who aſked him why he was ſo moderate in the uſe of wine: "That I may never," ſaid he, "ſtand in need of the reaſon of another [c]." Beſides wine, they frequently aſſuage their thirſt with whey [d] *.

They have different kinds of public repaſts. The moſt frequent are the Philitia †. Kings, magiſtrates, private citizens, all aſſemble to eat together in certain halls, in which a number of tables are ſpread, moſt frequently with fifteen covers each [e]. The gueſts at one table never interfere with thoſe at another, and form a ſociety of friends, in which no perſon can be received but

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[a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 637.
[b] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. Athen. lib. 10, p. 433.
[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 224.
[d] Heſych. in Κίρρος.
* This drink is ſtill in uſe in the country. (See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 64.)
† Theſe entertainments are called by ſome authors *Phiditia*, but by many others *Philitia*, which appears to be their true name, and ſignifies aſſociations of friends. (See Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1, cap 9.)
[e] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abſtinen. lib. 4, § 4, p. 305.

by the conſent of all thoſe who compoſe it [f]. They recline on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a ſtone or a block of wood [g]. Black broth is ſerved up to them, and afterward boiled pork, which is diſtributed to each gueſt in equal portions, ſometimes ſo ſmall that they ſcarcely weigh a quarter of a mina each [h] *. They have wine, cakes, and barley bread in plenty. At other times fiſh and different kinds of game are added by way of ſupplement to their ordinary portion [i]. Thoſe who offer ſacrifices, or go out to hunt, may, on their return, eat at home; but they muſt ſend to their companions at the ſame table a part of the game or the victim [k]. Near each cover a ſmall piece of crumb of bread is laid to wipe their fingers [l].

During the repaſt, the converſation frequently turns on morals or examples of virtue. A great action is related as news worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly diſcourſe: they ſpeak with preciſion, and are heard with reſpect.

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[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

[g] Athen. lib. 12, p. 518. Suid. in Αυχ. et in Φιλίτ. Cicer. Orat. pro Mur. cap. 35, t. v. p. 232. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1, cap. 10.

[h] Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 141.

* About three ounces and a half.

[i] Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 141.

[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

[l] Poll. lib. 6, cap. 14, § 93. Athen. lib. 9, p. 409.

Decorum is accompanied by gaiety[m]; Lycurgus has even enjoined it on the gueſts; and it is with this view that he has ordered a ſtatue of the god of laughter to be placed in the hall[n]. But the pleaſantries that excite mirth muſt contain nothing offenſive, and the too ſevere ſally, if it ſhould by chance eſcape any perſon preſent, muſt never be repeated in any other place. The oldeſt of the company, ſhewing the door to thoſe who enter, reminds them that nothing they may hear muſt go out there[o].

The different claſſes of youth are preſent at theſe repaſts, without partaking of them; the youngeſt to carry off adroitly from the table ſome portion which they ſhare with their comrades, and the others to receive leſſons of wiſdom and pleaſantry[p].

Whether theſe public repaſts have been inſtituted in a city in imitation of thoſe which are taken in a camp, or whether they derive their origin from another cauſe[q], it is certain that, in a ſmall ſtate, they are of wonderful effect in maintaining the laws[r]. During peace they produce union, temperance, and equality; and during war hold forth

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[m] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 1228.
[n] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.
[o] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[p] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46 et 50.
[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 625; lib. 6, p. 780.
[r] Id. ibid. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226.

a new motive to the citizen to fly to the ſuccour of another with whom he has participated in ſacrifices and libations[s]. Minos had appointed them in his ſtates. Lycurgus adopted the cuſtom with ſome remarkable differences. In Crete the expence is defrayed from the revenues of the republic[t]; but at Lacedæmon from thoſe of individuals, who are obliged to furniſh, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheeſe, figs, and even money[u]. By this contribution, the pooreſt claſs are in danger of being excluded from the meal in common; a defect which Ariſtotle has cenſured in the laws of Lycurgus[x]. On the other hand, Plato has blamed both Minos and Lycurgus, becauſe they have not extended this regulation likewiſe to the women[y]. For my part, I ſhall not venture to decide between ſuch great politicians and legiſlators.

Among the Spartans ſome are unable either to read or write[z], others ſcarcely know how to reckon[a]. They have no idea of geometry, aſtronomy, or the other ſciences[b]. The beſt informed among them

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[s] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, t. i. p. 283.
[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9 et 10, t. ii. p. 331 et 332.
[u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4, § 4, p. 305. Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 141.
[x] Ariſtot. ibid.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 780 et 781; lib. 8, p. 839.
[z] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 290.
[a] Plat. in Hip. Maj. t. iii. p. 285.
[b] Id. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 50.

are admirers of the poems of Homer[c], Terpander[d], and Tyrtæus, becauſe they elevate the ſoul. Their theatre is only appropriated to their exerciſes[e]: they never repreſent there either tragedies or comedies; for the introduction of the drama among them is forbidden by an expreſs law[f]. Some Spartans, though their number is very ſmall, have cultivated lyric poetry with ſucceſs. Alcman, who lived about three centuries ſince, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this ſpecies of verſe[g]. His ſtyle is ſmooth, though he had to combat the harſhneſs of the Doric dialect, which is ſpoken at Lacedæmon[h]. But he was animated by a ſentiment which ſmooths and ſoftens all things: he had dedicated his whole life to love, and ſang of love to his lateſt hour.

The Lacedæmonians are admirers of muſic, which produces the enthuſiaſm of virtue[i]. Without cultivating that art, they are capable of judging of its influence on manners, and reject thoſe innovations which deprive it of its ſimplicity[k].

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[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 680.

[d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 67. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 597. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612.

[f] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[g] Meurſ. Bibl. Græc. in Alcm. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 565. Diction. de Bayle au mot *Alcman*.

[h] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 15, p. 244.

[i] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Chamel. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 25, p. 184.

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 454. Athen. lib. 14, cap. 6, p. 628.

We may judge of their averſion to rhetoric by the following anecdotes[l]. A young Spartan, while at a diſtance from his country, had applied himſelf to the art of oratory. When he returned, the ephori inflicted a puniſhment on him, for having conceived a deſign to impoſe on his countrymen[m].

During the Peloponneſian war, another Spartan was ſent to the ſatrap Tiſſaphernes to engage him to prefer the alliance of Lacedæmon to that of Athens. He expreſſed himſelf in a few words; and when he heard the Athenian ambaſſadors diſplay their oſtentatious eloquence, drew two lines, the one ſtraight and the other crooked, but both terminating in the ſame point, and, ſhewing them to the ſatrap, ſaid to him: Chooſe[n]. Two centuries before, the inhabitants of an iſland in the Ægean ſea[o], ſuffering by famine, had recourſe for ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians their allies, who returned for anſwer to their ambaſſador: We have not underſtood the latter end of your harangue, and we have forgotten the beginning. A ſecond ambaſſador was therefore ſent, who was cautioned to be extremely conciſe. He came to Sparta, and began by ſhewing the Lacedæmonians one of the ſacks

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[l] Quintil. Inſtit. Orator. lib. 2, cap. 16, p. 124. Athen. lib. 13, p. 611.

[m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 293.

[n] Id. ibid.

[o] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 46.

uſed to carry flour in: the ſack was empty. The aſſembly immediately reſolved to ſupply the iſland with proviſions, but recommended to the ambaſſador not to be ſo prolix another time. He had in fact told them that it was neceſſary to fill the ſack [p].

They deſpiſe the art, but they eſteem the genius of oratory. This ſome of them have received from nature [q], and have diſplayed in their own aſſembly and thoſe of other ſtates; as alſo in the funeral orations which are pronounced every year in honour of Pauſanias and Leonidas [r]. Braſidas, the general who during the Peloponneſian war ſupported the honour of his country in Macedonia, was conſidered as eloquent even by the Athenians, who ſet ſo high a value on oratory [s].

The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians always proceeds directly to the point at which it aims, and arrives at it by the moſt ſimple ways. Foreign ſophiſts have ſometimes been permitted to enter their city, and to ſpeak in their preſence. When they delivered any uſeful truths, they were heard with attention and applauſe; but were no longer liſtened to when they only endeavoured to dazzle the underſtanding. One of theſe ſophiſts once

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[p] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 293.
[q] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 240.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 84.

propoſed

propoſed to pronounce before us an eulogium on Hercules: "On Hercules!" cried Antalcidas immediately; "who ever thought of blaming Hercules[y]?"

They do not bluſh to be found ignorant of thoſe ſciences which they conſider as ſuperfluous; and one of them replied to an Athenian, who reproached them with this ignorance: We are in fact the only people to whom you have not been able to teach your vices[u]. As they only apply themſelves to thoſe kinds of knowledge which are abſolutely neceſſary, their ideas are only therefore the more juſt and better arranged; for falſe ideas are like thoſe irregular materials which cannot be employed in the conſtruction of an edifice.

Thus, though the Lacedæmonians have leſs learning than other nations, they are more intelligent. It is ſaid that from them Thales, Pittacus, and the other ſages of Greece, borrowed the art of compriſing moral maxims in ſhort ſentences[x]. Inſtances of this kind which have fallen under my own obſervation have frequently aſtoniſhed me. I imagined I was converſing with uncultivated and

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[t] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192.

[u] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.

[x] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.

ignorant perſons, when I unexpectedly received from them replies full of the moſt ſolid and penetrating ſenſe [y]. Accuſtomed as they are, from their earlieſt years, to expreſs themſelves with equal energy and preciſion [z], they are ſilent when they have nothing intereſting to ſay [a], and apologize if they have too much [b]. A certain inſtinct of greatneſs teaches them that the diffuſive ſtyle is only ſuitable to the ſuppliant ſlave; and, in fact, ſuch a ſtyle, like the language of ſupplication, ſeems fearfully to approach and wind itſelf around him whom it labours to perſuade. The conciſe ſtyle, on the contrary, is lofty and majeſtic, and ſuitable to the maſter who commands [c]. It is conſonant to the character of the Spartans, who frequently employ it in their converſations and letters. Repartees, rapid as lightning, leave behind them ſometimes a lively ſplendour, and ſometimes proofs of the high opinion they entertain of themſelves and their country.

Some one was once praiſing the goodneſs of the young king Charilaus. "How can he be good," replied the other king, "ſince he is ſo even to

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[y] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

[z] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 46. Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 641; lib. 4, p. 721. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51 et 52. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 296.

[a] Plut. ibid. p. 52.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 17.

[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 253.

the wicked[d]?" In one of the cities of Greece, the herald who was employed to ſell ſome ſlaves, cried aloud: "I ſell a Lacedæmonian." "Say rather a priſoner," replied the Spartan, laying his hand on his mouth[e]. The generals of the king of Perſia demanded of the deputies from Lacedæmon in what character they meant to carry on their negociation. "If it fails," replied they, "as individuals; if it ſucceeds, as ambaſſadors[f]."

The ſame preciſion may be remarked in the letters written by the magiſtrates, and in thoſe which they receive from the generals. The ephori fearing that the garriſon of Decelia ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed, or not intermit their accuſtomed exerciſes, wrote to them only theſe words: "Do not walk[g]." The moſt diſaſtrous defeat or the moſt ſplendid victory was notified with the ſame ſimplicity. When, in the time of the Peloponneſian war, the Lacedæmonian fleet under the command of Mindarus had been defeated by that of Athens under Alcibiades, an officer wrote to the ephori: "The battle is loſt; Mindarus is killed; no proviſions nor reſources[h]." A ſhort time after, the ſame magiſtrates received from

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[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 233.
[f] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 231.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 5.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 430.

Lyſander, the general of their army, a letter containing the following words: "Athens is taken[i]." Such was the relation of the moſt glorious and moſt important conqueſt Lacedæmon ever made.

It is not to be imagined, from theſe inſtances, that the Spartans, condemned to a ſolemn auſterity of reaſoning, never dare to unwrinkle their brow. They poſſeſs that diſpoſition to gaiety which is the natural conſequence of the freedom of the mind and the health of the body. Their mirth is rapidly communicated, becauſe it is lively and natural. It is maintained by pleaſantries which, having in them nothing low or offenſive, are eſſentially different from buffoonery and ſatire[k]. They early learn to take and to return them[l], and deſiſt from them the moment the perſon who is the object of them ſolicits to be ſpared[m].

With ſuch ſallies they frequently repreſs the pretenſions of vanity or the complaints of peeviſhneſs. I was one day with the king Archidamus, when Periander his phyſician preſented him ſome verſes which he had juſt written. The king read them, and ſaid to him in a friendly manner, Why will you make yourſelf, inſtead of a good phyſician,

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[i] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 441. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 229. Schol. Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 64, p. 106.

[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.

[l] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[m] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 46.

a bad poet [n]? Some years after, an old man complaining to king Agis of ſome infractions of the laws, exclaimed that all was loſt. "That," replied Agis, ſmiling, "is ſo true, that I remember, when I was a boy, I heard my father ſay that, when he was a boy, he heard my grandfather ſay the ſame thing [o]."

The lucrative arts, and eſpecially thoſe of luxury, are ſeverely forbidden the Spartans [p]. They are prohibited from altering the nature of oil by perfumes, or dying wool of any colour but purple. There are therefore no perfumers and ſcarcely any dyers among them [q]. They ought to be entirely unacquainted with gold and ſilver, and conſequently can have among them no workmen in thoſe metals [r]. In the army they may exerciſe ſome uſeful profeſſions, as that of herald, trumpeter, or cook; but on condition that the ſon ſhall follow the profeſſion of his father, as is practiſed in Egypt [s].

They have ſuch an idea of liberty that they cannot reconcile it with manual labour [t]. One of

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[n] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 218.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 216.
[p] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib, 6, cap. 6. Polyæn. lib. 2, cap. 1, No. 7.
[q] Athen. lib. 15, p. 686. Senec. Quæſt. Natur. lib. 4, cap. 13, t. ii. p. 762.
[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
[s] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 60.
[t] Ariſtot. de Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 532.

them, on his return from Athens, ſaid to me: "I come from a city where nothing is diſhonourable;" by which he both meant to allude to the dealings of thoſe who procure courteſans for a certain price, and thoſe who are engaged in retail traffic [u]. Another, being in the ſame city, and learning that a perſon had been condemned to pay a fine as a puniſhment for idleneſs, declared he wiſhed to ſee, as an extraordinary ſight, the man who had been puniſhed in a republic for having emancipated himſelf from every ſpecies of ſervitude [x].

His ſurpriſe was founded on the conſideration that the laws, in his own country, were all eſpecially directed to free the minds of the people from factitious intereſts and domeſtic cares [y]. Thoſe who have lands are obliged to farm them out to Helots [z]. Thoſe between whom differences ariſe, muſt terminate them by accommodation, for they are forbidden to waſte the precious moments of their life in the proſecution of law-ſuits [a], no leſs than in the operations of commerce [b], or any of thoſe various means employed by others to increaſe their fortune or lighten the burden of exiſtence.

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[u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 221.
[y] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[z] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216.
[a] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 233.
[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.

They are nevertheleſs ſtrangers to diſguſt and wearineſs of life, becauſe they are never alone, nor ever at reſt[c]. Swimming, wreſtling, running, tennis[d], the other exerciſes of the gymnaſium, and military evolutions, employ them for a part of the day[e]; and they afterward make it a duty and amuſement to be preſent at the ſports and combats of the youth[f]. From thence they go to the leſches, or halls, in different quarters of the city[g], in which the men of every age are accuſtomed to meet. They have a great taſte for the pleaſures of converſation, which, with them, ſcarcely ever turns on the intereſts or projects of ſtates; but they liſten without ever being weary to the leſſons of aged perſons[h]. They willingly hear concerning the origin of men, heroes, and cities[i]. The gravity of theſe diſcourſes is tempered by frequent pleaſantries.

Theſe meetings, as well as the public meals and exerciſes, are honoured with the preſence of the old men. I make uſe of this expreſſion becauſe old age, in other countries devoted to contempt, raiſes a Spartan to the ſummit of honour[k]. The

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[c] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 5. Id. lib. 14, cap. 7.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 240; cap. 15, p. 245.
[h] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.
[i] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 285.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 3.

other citizens, and eſpecially the youth, pay them all the reſpect which they will in their turn require to be paid to themſelves. The law obliges them to give way to the aged man wherever they meet him, to riſe to him whenever he enters where they are, and to keep ſilence when he ſpeaks. He is heard with deference in the aſſemblies of the people and in the halls of the gymnaſium. Thus thoſe citizens who have ſerved their country, far from becoming ſtrangers to it at the end of their days, are then reſpected for the experience they have gained, and viewed with the ſame veneration as thoſe ancient monuments whoſe remains are religiouſly preſerved.

If we now conſider that the Spartans dedicate one part of their time to the chace and the buſineſs of the general aſſemblies; that they celebrate a great number of feſtivals, the ſplendour of which is heightened by the united charms of dancing and muſic [1]; and that, in fine, the pleaſures common to a whole nation are more lively than thoſe of an individual; far from lamenting their fate, we ſhall perceive that they enjoy an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of pleaſurable moments and intereſting ſpectacles. Two of the latter had excited the admiration of Pindar. There, ſaid he, we find the ardent courage of youthful warriors

[1] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.

continually tempered by the conſummate wiſdom of the aged, and the brilliant triumphs of the muſes perpetually followed by the tranſports of public joy [m].

Their tombs, which, like their houſes, are without ornament, mark no diſtinction between the citizens [n]. It is permitted to place them in the cities, or even near the temples. Tears and ſighs are neither heard at funerals [o], nor accompany the laſt moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more aſtoniſhed at the approach of death, than they were at the continuance of life. Perſuaded that death muſt fix the boundary of their days, they ſubmit to the commands of nature with the ſame reſignation as to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

The women are tall, ſtrong, healthy, and almoſt all very handſome. But they are ſevere and majeſtic beauties [p]. They might have furniſhed Phidias with a great number of models for his Minerva, but Praxiteles would with difficulty have found one among them for his Venus.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a tunic, or kind of ſhort

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[m] Pind. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 53.

[n] Heraclid. Pontic. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[o] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

[p] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 13, v. 412. Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 80. Muſ. de Her. v. 74. Coluth. de Rapt. Helen. v. 218. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5, cap. 29. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 3.

ſhift, and a robe which deſcends to the heels [q]. The girls, who are obliged to employ every moment of their time in wreſtling, running, leaping, and other laborious exerciſes, uſually only wear a light garment without ſleeves [r], which is faſtened over the ſhoulders with claſps [s], and which a girdle [t] confines, and prevents from falling below the knee [u]. The lower part is open on each ſide, ſo that half the body is naked [x]. I am far from juſtifying this practice, but I ſhall relate the motives and conſequences of it, as they were ſtated to me by ſome Spartans, to whom I teſtified my ſurpriſe at ſuch a cuſtom.

Lycurgus could not ſubject the girls to the ſame exerciſes as the men, unleſs he removed every thing that might prevent the freedom of their motions. He had no doubt obſerved that man did not cover himſelf till after he was become corrupted, and that his garments multiplied in proportion with his vices; that the beauties which ſeduce him frequently loſe all their charms by being ſhewn, and that, in fine, the eyes only defile thoſe

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[q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 823.

[r] Excerp. Manuſcr. ap. Potter. in Not. ad Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 238. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975.

[s] Poll. Onomaſt. lib. 7, cap. 13, § 55. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975, lin. 38.

[t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

[u] Clem. Alex. ibid. Virg. Æneid. lib. 1, v. 320, 324, et 408.

[x] Euripid. in Andromach. v. 598. Soph. ap. Plut. in Num. p. 77. Plut. ibid. p. 76. Heſych. in Δωριάζ.

minds which are already defiled. Guided by theſe reflections, he undertook to eſtabliſh by his laws ſuch a harmony of virtues between the two ſexes, that the temerity of the one ſhould be repreſſed, and the weakneſs of the other ſupported. Thus, not contented to decree that the puniſhment of death ſhould be inflicted on him who ſhould diſhonour a maiden [y], he accuſtomed the youth of Sparta to bluſh only at vice [z]. Modeſty, deprived of a part of its veil [a], was reſpected by both ſexes, and the women of Lacedæmon were diſtinguiſhed for the purity of their manners. I may add that Lycurgus has found defenders among the philoſophers. Plato in his republic would have the women of every age exerciſe continually in the gymnaſium, veiled with no other garments than their virtues [b].

A Spartan woman appears in public with her face uncovered until ſhe is married, but after her marriage, as ſhe is only to ſeek to pleaſe her huſband, ſhe never goes abroad but with a veil [c]; and as ſhe ought to be known to him alone, it is not eſteemed proper that others ſhould ſpeak of her even in her praiſe [d]: but this concealment and reſpectful ſilence are only a homage rendered to

y Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 3.
z Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 452.
a Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.
b Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 457.
c Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
d Id. ibid. p. 217 et 220.

decency. No where are women leſs watched or under leſs reſtraint [e], nor have they any where leſs abuſed their liberty. The idea of infidelity to their huſbands would formerly have appeared to them as ſtrange as that of diſplaying the leaſt regard to ſtudied ornament in their dreſs [f]. Though at preſent they have no longer the ſame prudence nor the ſame modeſty, they are ſtill more obſervant of their duties than the other women of Greece.

They have alſo a more vigorous character of mind, by which they obtain an aſcendancy over their huſbands, who conſult them both concerning their private affairs and thoſe of the ſtate. It has been remarked that warlike nations are inclined to love. The union of Mars and Venus ſeems an emblem of this truth, and the example of the Lacedæmonians ſerves to confirm it [g]. A woman from another part of Greece once ſaid to the wife of Leonidas: "You are the only women who have gained an aſcendancy over the men." "No doubt," replied ſhe, "for we are the only women who bring forth men [h]."

Yet were theſe vigorous minds ſome few years

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[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 328. Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 24, t. i. p. 287.

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Heraclid. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 798. Id. in Amator. t. ii. p. 761.

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

ſince ſeized with a panic which ſurpriſed all Greece. At the ſight of the army of Epaminondas they filled the city with confuſion and terror[i]. Does their character then enfeeble as their virtues decline? Is there a fatality which controls courage; and can a moment of weakneſs counterbalance thoſe examples of greatneſs and elevation of ſoul which they have at all times exhibited, and which they ſtill continue daily to diſplay?

They have a high idea of honour and liberty, which they ſometimes carry ſo far that it is difficult to ſay by what name we ought to call the ſentiment by which they are animated. One of them wrote to her ſon, who in a battle had ſaved himſelf by flight: "Diſgraceful reports are circulated concerning you; refute them, or ceaſe to live[k]." An Athenian mother, in ſimilar circumſtances, wrote thus to her ſon: "I owe you many thanks for having preſerved yourſelf for me[l]." Thoſe even who are willing to excuſe the latter of theſe women, cannot but admire the former; nor will they be leſs affected by the anſwer of Argileonis, the mother of the celebrated Braſidas, who when ſome Thracians informed her of the glorious death of her ſon, and added that Lacedæmon had never produced ſo great a general, replied: "Strangers,

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[i] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 329.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.
[l] Stob. Serm. 106, p. 576.

my ſon was indeed a brave man; but learn that Lacedæmon poſſeſſes many ſtill braver men than he [m]."

Here we ſee nature ſubjected but not annihilated, and in this conſiſts true courage. The ephori accordingly decreed exemplary honours to this illuſtrious woman [n]. But who can hear without ſhuddering the reply of a mother, who, when it is ſaid to her, "Your ſon is killed without quitting his rank;" immediately anſwers, "Let him be buried, and let his brother take his place [o];" or of that other who, waiting in the ſuburb to learn the news of the battle, was told by the courier that her five ſons were killed. I do not come, ſaid ſhe, to enquire concerning them, but whether my country has any thing to fear. Our country, replied the meſſenger, triumphs. It is well, returned ſhe, I ſhall reſign myſelf with pleaſure to my own loſs [p]. Who, in fine, can look without horror on thoſe women who put to death with their own hands their ſons convicted of cowardice [q]; or thoſe who, haſtening to the field of battle, cauſe the body of their only ſon to be ſhewn them, examine with an anxious eye the wounds he has received, carefully numbering thoſe which may honour or diſgrace

[m] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 219 et 240.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 122.
[o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 242.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 241.
[q] Id. ibid. Anthol. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 5.

his fall; and, after this horrible calculation, proudly return at the head of the party, or confine themſelves to their houſes to conceal their tears and their ſhame[r] *?

Theſe extravagances, or rather theſe enormities, of honour, ſo far ſurpaſs the ſtandard of that greatneſs to which human nature can aſpire, that we never find any of the other ſex at Sparta proceed to the ſame exceſſes. The reaſon of which is, that with them the love of their country is a virtue that performs ſublime actions, but with their wives a paſſion that attempts extraordinary things. Beauty, ornament, birth, or even the endowments of the mind, not being in ſufficient eſteem at Sparta to eſtabliſh diſtinctions among women, they are obliged to found their claims to ſuperiority on the number and valour of their children. While they live they enjoy the hopes which they give of future fame, and after their death inherit the celebrity they have acquired. It is this fatal ſucceſſion which renders them ferocious, and cauſes their devotion to their country to be ſometimes accompanied with all the phrenſy of ambition and vanity.

To that elevation of ſoul which they ſtill ſome-

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[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 21.

* This latter fact, and others nearly ſimilar, appear to be poſterior to the times when the laws of Lycurgus were rigorouſly obſerved. It was not till after their decline that the women and children of Sparta were actuated by a falſe heroiſm.

times manifeſt at intervals will ſoon ſucceed, without entirely deſtroying it, ignoble ſentiments, and their life will only be a mixture of meanneſs and magnanimity, barbariſm and voluptuouſneſs. Already many among them ſuffer themſelves to be ſwayed by the ſplendour of riches and the attractions of pleaſure[s]. The Athenians, who loudly condemn the liberty permitted to women at Sparta, triumph when they ſee this liberty degenerate into licentiouſneſs[t]. Even philoſophers cenſure Lycurgus for having been ſolely attentive to the education of the men[u].

We will examine how far this accuſation is founded in another chapter, and at the ſame time conſider the cauſes of the decline which has taken place in the manners of the Spartans; for it muſt be confeſſed they are no longer what they were a century ago. Some pride themſelves in their riches with impunity, and others ſeek eagerly for employments which their fathers contented themſelves with deſerving[x]. It is not long ſince a courteſan was diſcovered in the environs of Sparta[y]; and, which is not leſs dangerous, we have ſeen Cyniſca, the ſiſter of king Ageſilaus, ſend to Olympia a chariot with four horſes, to diſpute the

[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 328.
[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, p. 637.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 781; lib. 8, p. 806. Ariſtot. ibid. p. 329.
[x] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.
[y] Id. Hiſt. Græc, lib. 3, p. 495.

prize in the race; we have ſeen her triumph celebrated by poets, and a monument erected in her honour by the ſtate [z].

Yet, notwithſtanding their degradation, they ſtill preſerve ſome remains of their ancient greatneſs. They never have recourſe to diſſimulation, meanneſs, and that low cunning which debaſes the mind. They are eager to acquire without avarice, and ambitious without intrigue. The moſt powerful have the modeſty to conceal the licentiouſneſs of their conduct [a]. They are fugitives who fear the laws they have violated, and regret the virtues they have loſt.

I have nevertheleſs ſeen Spartans whoſe magnanimity invited others to imitation. They maintained their ſuperiority without effort and without oſtentation; nor could they be allured to mean compliance by the ſplendour of dignities or the hope of rewards, for they neither feared poverty nor death. In my laſt journey to Lacedæmon, I happened to be in company with Talecrus who was very poor, and Damindas who enjoyed an eaſy fortune, when there came in one of thoſe men whom Philip kept in pay to procure him partiſans by bribes. He ſaid to the former: What wealth have you? Every neceſſary, anſwered Talecrus,

[z] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 8, p. 222. Id. cap. 15, p. 243.

[a] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 330.

turning his back on him[b]. He threatened the latter with the anger of Philip. Coward, replied Damindas, what hurt can your maſter do to men who deſpiſe death[c]?

When I contemplate at leiſure this mixture of growing vices and ancient virtues, I ſeem to myſelf in the midſt of a foreſt that has been ravaged by the flames; I behold ſome trees reduced to aſhes, others half conſumed, and others which, ſtill remaining undamaged, proudly lift their lofty heads to the ſkies.

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[b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 219.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the Religion and Feſtivals of the Spartans.

THE objects of public worſhip at Lacedæmon only inſpire a profound reverence and an abſolute ſilence; neither diſcuſſions nor doubts concerning them are permitted. To adore the gods and honour the heroes compoſes the whole of the religious doctrine of the Spartans.

Among the heroes, to whom temples, altars, and ſtatues have been erected, the moſt diſtinguiſhed are Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux, Achilles, Ulyſſes, and Lycurgus. Thoſe who are unacquainted with the different traditions of nations, will be ſurpriſed to ſee Helen partake with Menelaus in honours almoſt divine [d], and the ſtatue of Clytæmneſtra placed by the ſide of that of Agamemnon [e].

The Spartans are extremely credulous. One of them in the night imagined that he ſaw a ſpectre wandering round a tomb. He purſued it with his uplifted ſpear, crying out: It is in vain that

[d] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 61. Iſocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 15, p. 244.
[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 19, p. 258.

thou attempteſt to eſcape me, thou ſhalt die a ſecond time[f]. It is not the prieſts who cheriſh this ſuperſtition among the people, but the ephori. Thoſe magiſtrates ſometimes paſs the night in the temple of Paſiphae, and the next day relate their dreams as realities[g].

Lycurgus, who could not aſſume a power over religious opinions, ſuppreſſed the abuſes they had occaſioned. In every other country the gods may only be preſented with victims without blemiſh, which are frequently ſacrificed with ceremonious magnificence. At Sparta the oblations are but of little value, and offered with that modeſty which becomes ſuppliants[h]. Other nations importune the gods with indiſcreet and long prayers; the Spartans only requeſt from them the favour that they may achieve great actions after having performed good ones[i]; and conclude with theſe words, the profound ſenſe of which will be felt by elevated minds: "Grant us the fortitude to ſupport injuſtice[k]." The eye is not here offended with the ſight of dead bodies, as among the neighbouring ſtates. Mourning laſts but eleven days[l]. If grief is real, it ought not to be limited to time;

[f] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[g] Id. in Agid. t. i. p. 807. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1, cap. 43, t. iii. p. 36.
[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52.
[i] Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 148.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[l] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

and if fictitious, its impoſture ought not to be prolonged.

Hence we may conclude that if the worſhip of the Lacedæmonians is, like that of the other Greeks, polluted with errors and prejudices in theory, it at leaſt, in practice, abounds in reaſon and good ſenſe.

The Athenians have imagined they ſhould detain Victory with themſelves, by repreſenting that divinity without wings [m]. For the ſame reaſon the Spartans have ſometimes repreſented Mars and Venus in chains [n]. That warlike nation has given arms to Venus, and put a ſpear in the hands of all the gods and goddeſſes [o]. The Spartans have placed the ſtatue of Death by the ſide of that of Sleep, that they may accuſtom themſelves to behold both with the ſame eye [p]. They have dedicated a temple to the Muſes, becauſe they march to battle to the melodious ſounds of the flute or the lyre [q]; another to Neptune who ſhakes the earth, becauſe they inhabit a country ſubject to frequent earthquakes [r]; and another to Fear, becauſe there are ſalutary fears, ſuch as the fear of the laws [s].

[m] Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 52.
[n] Id. lib. 3, cap. 15, p. 245 et 246.
[o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 18, p. 253.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 17, p. 251.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 608. Strab. lib. 8, p. 367. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 20, p. 260. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 294.
[s] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.

They celebrate a great number of feſtivals, in the greater part of which I have ſeen three choruſes of old men, men of mature age, and boys, march in order, the old men ſinging theſe words:

In days long paſt and gone were we
Young, vigorous, hardy, brave, and free.

To which the men of mature age anſwer:

We who ſucceed you now are ſo,
As thoſe who dare to doubt ſhall know.

While the children who follow them reply:

The ſame ſhall we one day be ſeen,
And e'en ſurpaſs what you have been [t].

In the feſtivals of Bacchus I have ſeen women, to the number of eleven, diſpute the prize in running [u]; and I have followed the maidens of Sparta when, in the midſt of the joyful acclamations of the people, they have repaired in chariots [x] to the little town of Therapne, to preſent their offerings at the tomb of Menelaus and Helen [y].

During the feſtival of Apollo, ſurnamed Carneus, which is annually celebrated toward the end of the

[t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 239.
[x] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 606. Heſych. in Κάναθ.
[y] Iſocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 19, p. 259.

ſummer [z], and which laſts nine days [a], I have been preſent at the competitions of the players on the cithara [b]. I ſaw erected round the city nine booths, or arbours, in the form of tents, in which every day new gueſts, to the number of eighty-one, nine for each tent, take their repaſts. Certain officers, appointed by lot, attend to maintain order [c]; and the whole is conducted by the repeated proclamations of a herald [d]. This is the image of a camp, yet has it not much immediate relation to war; for nothing may interrupt this feſtival, and however imminent the danger may be, the army muſt wait till it is concluded before it takes the field [e].

The ſame religious reſpect detains the Lacedæmonians at home during the feſtival of Hyacinth [f], celebrated in the ſpring [g], and eſpecially by the inhabitants of Amyclæ [h]. Tradition relates, that Hyacinth, the ſon of a king of Lacedæmon, was paſſionately beloved by Apollo; that Zephyr,

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[z] Dodwel. Annal. Thucyd. p. 178. Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xviii. Hiſt. p. 138. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. ii. p. 452.

[a] Demetr. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 141.

[b] Hellan. ap. Athen. lib. 14, cap. 4, p. 635. Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

[c] Heſych. in Καρνιάτ.

[d] Demetr. ap. Athen. p. 141.

[e] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 206. Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 76. Schol. Thucyd. in cap. 54.

[f] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 6 et 11.

[g] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. ii. p. 452.

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4, p. 528. Strab. lib. 6, p. 278. Meurſ. Græc. Feriat. in Hyacinth.

jealous of his beauty, directed on him the quoit that deprived him of life, and that Apollo who had thrown it could only console himself for his death by changing the young prince into the flower which bears his name[i]. Annual games were instituted[k], the first and third days of which only exhibit sadness and mourning. The second is a day of rejoicing, and all Lacedæmon abandons itself to the intoxication of joy; it is a day of liberty, and on it the slaves eat at the same table with their masters[l].

On every side are seen choruses of boys, clad only in a tunic, some playing on the lyre, or celebrating Hyacinth in ancient songs accompanied by the flute; others executing dances, and others on horseback displaying their dexterity in the place set apart for such exhibitions[m].

Soon after the *pomp*, or solemn procession, advances towards Amyclæ, conducted by a leader who, under the name of legate, is appointed to offer in the temple of Apollo the vows of the state[n]. As soon as this procession has arrived at the place of its destination, a solemn sacrifice commences, by pouring forth, as a libation, wine

[i] Nicand. in Theriac. v. 902. Ovid. Metam. lib. 10, fab. 5. Pausan. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 204; cap. 19, p. 258. Plin. lib. 21, cap. 11, p. 244.

[k] Ovid. ibid. v. 219.

[l] Polycr. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 7, p. 139.

[m] Id. ibid. Xenoph. in Ages. p. 661.

[n] Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.

and milk within the altar which ſerves as a baſe to the ſtatue. This altar is the tomb of Hyacinth [o]. Around it are ranged twenty or five and twenty boys, and as many young maidens, who ſing in the moſt charming concert in the preſence of many of the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon [p] *. For in this city, as well as throughout all Greece, religious ceremonies are the care of government, and kings and their children conſider it as their duty to take a principal part in them. In our time we have ſeen Ageſilaus, after the moſt brilliant victories, take the place aſſigned him by the maſter of the chorus, and, undiſtinguiſhed from the other citizens, ſing with them the hymn of Apollo in the feſtival of Hyacinth [q].

The diſcipline of the Spartans is ſuch that their pleaſures are ever accompanied with a certain decency. Even during the feſtivals of Bacchus, whether in the city or the country, no perſon ventures to tranſgreſs the law which prohibits the immoderate uſe of wine [r].

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[o] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 19, p. 257.
[p] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[q] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 661.
[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 637.

CHAP. L.

Of Military Service among the Spartans.

THE Spartans are obliged to ſerve in the army from the age of twenty to that of ſixty, but after that age they are not required to bear arms, unleſs the enemy enters Laconia[s].

When levies of troops are to be made, the ephori command, by a herald, that all the citizens from twenty years old to a certain age mentioned in the proclamation[t], immediately preſent themſelves to ſerve in the heavy-armed infantry, or in the cavalry; and the ſame notice is given to the labourers who are to follow the army[u].

As the citizens are divided into five tribes, the heavy-armed infantry is diſtributed into five regiments, which are uſually commanded by as many polemarchs[x]. Each regiment is compoſed of four battalions, eight pentecoſtys, and ſixteen enomotias, or companies[y] *.

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[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 568. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 609 et 610.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 597.
[u] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
[x] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocrat. in Μόραι. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 66. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
*. See note at the end of the volume.

On certain occaſions, inſtead of ſending a whole regiment, ſome battalions are detached, and then, by doubling or quadrupling their companies, each battalion is increaſed to two hundred and fifty-ſix, or even to five hundred and twelve men [a]. I am ſpeaking of particular caſes, and not general rules, for the number of men in each enomotia is not always the ſame [a], and the general, to conceal the knowledge of his ſtrength from the enemy [b], frequently varies the compoſition of his army. Beſides theſe five regiments, there is a body of ſix hundred choſen men, called ſciritæ, who have ſometimes turned the ſcale of victory [c].

The principal arms of the foot ſoldier are the pike and buckler. I do not reckon the ſword, which is only a kind of poniard that he carries at his belt [d]. On the pike he places his chief dependence, and ſcarcely ever quits it while he is in the army [e]. A foreigner once ſaid to the ambitious Ageſilaus, Where do you place the boundaries of Laconia? At the end of our pikes, replied he [f].

The body of the ſoldier is defended by a buck-

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[a] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 68. Schol. ibid.
[a] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 596. Suid. in Ενωμοτ.
[b] Thucyd. ibid.
[c] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
[d] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 1.
[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 687. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[f] Plut. ibid. p. 210.

ler of braſs [g] of an oval form, cut with a hollow on one ſide, and ſometimes on both, terminating in a point at the two extremities, and inſcribed with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon [h]. By this mark the nation is known; but another is ſtill requiſite for each ſoldier to diſcover his own buckler, ſince he is obliged to bring it back with him under pain of infamy. He therefore chooſes ſome ſymbol, which he procures to be engraven on it. A certain Lacedæmonian was rallied by his friends for having choſen for his emblem a fly of the natural ſize. I will, ſaid he, in reply, approach ſo near the enemy that they ſhall diſtinctly ſee my mark [i].

The ſoldier wears a kind of coat of a ſcarlet colour [k], which colour has been choſen to prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he has cauſed to flow [l].

The king marches at the head of the army, preceded by a body of ſciritæ, as well as by horſemen, ſent forward to reconnoitre. He frequently offers ſacrifices, at which are preſent the officers of the Lacedæmonian troops and thoſe of the allies [m].

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[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

[h] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 28, p. 348. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2, p. 293. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. Hiſt. p. 101.

[i] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.

[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

[l] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Valer. Max. lib. 2, cap. 6. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 1173.

[m] Xenoph. ibid. p. 668.

Frequently he changes his camp, either to protect the territories of the latter, or to lay waſte thoſe of the enemy [n].

The ſoldiers every day perform the exerciſes of the gymnaſium; a place is traced out for this purpoſe in the environs of the camp. After the morning exerciſes they remain ſeated on the ground till dinner, and after thoſe of the evening ſing hymns in honour of the gods, and lie all night on their arms. The intervals of the day are paſſed in different amuſements [o]; for they are then ſubjected to fewer labours than they were before they took the field: it may be ſaid that war is to them a time of leiſure and reſt [p].

On the day of battle, the king, in imitation of Hercules, ſacrifices a ſhe-goat, while the flute-players play the air of Caſtor [q]. He then ſings the hymn of battle, which all the ſoldiers, with their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert [r]. After this moment, ſo terrible and ſo grand, they adjuſt their hair and their clothes, clean their arms, eagerly preſs their officers to lead them to the field of honour, animate each other by ſallies of plea-

[n] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. t. ii. p. 687.
[o] Id. ibid. et p. 688.
[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.
[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. Plut. ibid. Id. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1140. Poll. lib. 4, cap. 10, § 78. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1, cap. 10.
[r] Plut. ibid. Poll. lib. 4, cap. 7, § 53.

ſantry[s], and march forward in order of battle, to the ſound of flutes, which excite and moderate their courage[t]. The king takes his ſtation in the firſt rank, attended by a hundred young warriors, who, under pain of infamy, muſt riſk their lives to preſerve his[u], and ſome athletæ who have gained the prize in the public games of Greece, and who conſider this poſt as the moſt glorious of diſtinctions[x].

I ſhall ſay nothing of the ſcientific manœuvres which the Spartans execute before the attack and during the battle; their tactics appear at firſt complicated[y], but the leaſt attention will be ſufficient to convince us that they have foreſeen and facilitated every thing, and that the military inſtitutions of Lycurgus are preferable to thoſe of other nations[z].

It is a diſgrace to every man to fly before his enemy, but to the Spartans it is a ſhame even to have entertained a thought of it[a]. Yet their courage, though ardent and impetuous, is not a

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[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 70. Polyb. lib. 4, p. 289. Plut. de Irâ, t. ii. p. 458. Athen. lib. 12, p. 517; lib. 14, p. 626. Aul. Gell. lib. 1, cap. 11.

[u] Herod. lib. 6, cap. 56. Iſocr. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 445.

[x] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53 et 54. Id. Sympoſ. lib. 2, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 639.

[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 685 et 689.

[a] Senac. Suas 2, t. iii. p. 16.

blind fury. There is no one among them who, ſhould he hear the ſignal of retreat in the heat of the battle, and while his ſword is uplifted againſt his enemy fallen at his feet, would not immediately ſtop his hand, and own that his firſt duty is to obey his general [b].

This race of men was not born to ſubmit to bondage; the law inceſſantly exclaims to them, Die rather than be ſlaves. Bias, who commanded a body of troops, having ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by Iphicrates, ſome of his ſoldiers ſaid to him, "What is to be done?" "You," anſwered he, "muſt retreat; I muſt fight and die [c]."

The Spartans prefer keeping their ranks and preſerving good order to killing a ſmall number more of the enemy [d]. They are not only forbidden to purſue a flying foe, but alſo to ſtrip the dead bodies till they have received orders, for it is their duty to be more attentive to ſecure the victory than the plunder [e]. Three hundred Spartans are appointed to ſee that this law is properly obſerved [f].

If the general has had a number of ſoldiers taken

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[b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 219.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 300.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 73. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 6.
[f] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2, cap. 1.

priſoners in a battle, he muſt riſk a ſecond action to recover them from the enemy [g].

If a ſoldier has quitted his rank, he is obliged to remain a certain time ſtanding, and leaning on his buckler, in ſight of the whole army [h].

Cowardice, of which examples were formerly extremely rare, ſubjects the Spartan who is found guilty of it to all the horrors of infamy. He can aſpire to no office; if he is married, no family will contract an alliance with his; and if he is not, he can marry into none [i]. It ſeems as if his pollution was ſuppoſed to defile all his poſterity.

Thoſe who are ſlain in battle are buried, like the other citizens, with a red garment and an olive branch, the ſymbols, among the Spartans, of warlike virtues [k]. If they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, their names are inſcribed on their tombs, which are ſometimes ornamented with the figure of a lion [l]. But if a ſoldier has received his mortal wound after having turned his back on his enemy, he is deprived of burial [m].

The ſucceſs which has been obtained by prudence is preferred to that which is gained by

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[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 507.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 481.
[i] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 214.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Herodot. lib. 8, cap. 124.
[l] Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 6.
[m] Meurſ. Miſcell. Laeon. lib. 2, cap. 1.

bravery

bravery only[n]. The ſpoils of the enemy are not hung up in the temples. Offerings which have been taken from cowards, ſaid king Cleomenes, ought not to be expoſed to the eyes of the gods, nor to thoſe of our youth[o]. A victory formerly occaſioned neither joy nor ſurpriſe; but in our time an advantage gained by Archidamus, ſon of Ageſilaus, produced ſuch lively tranſports of joy among the Spartans, that no doubt can any longer remain of their decline[p].

Only men without experience, or who are deficient in vigour or martial ardour, enter into the cavalry. The rich citizen furniſhes the arms, and provides for the ſubſiſtence of the horſe[q]. If this body has gained ſome advantages, Lacedæmon is indebted for them to the foreign horſe ſoldiers which ſhe maintains in her pay[r]. In general, the Spartans rather chooſe to ſerve in the infantry. Perſuaded that true courage is ſufficient to itſelf, they wiſh to fight hand to hand. I was in company with king Archidamus when the model of a machine for throwing darts, then lately invented in Sicily, was preſented to him. After having for ſome time examined it with atten-

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[n] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 218.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 224.
[p] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 614.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 596.
[r] Id. de Magiſtr. Equit. p. 971.

tion: "Valour," ſaid he, "is now rendered uſeleſs [s]."

Laconia may maintain about thirty thouſand heavy armed infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry [t]; but whether population has not been ſufficiently encouraged, or whether the ſtate be not ambitious of bringing great armies into the field, the Spartans, who have often marched in a national body againſt the neighbouring ſtates [u], have never employed in diſtant expeditions but a ſmall number of native troops. They had, it is true, forty-five thouſand men at the battle of Platæa, but among them were only five thouſand Spartans, and as many Lacedæmonians; all the reſt were Helots [x]. At the battle of Leuctra there were only ſeven hundred Spartans in the army [y].

It was not therefore to her own forces that Sparta was indebted for her ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece; and though at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war ſhe cauſed ſixty thouſand men to march againſt the Athenians, this was becauſe the ſtates of Peloponneſus, the greater part of which had for ſeveral centuries been in alliance with her, had joined their forces to hers [z].

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[s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 219.
[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 329.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 643.
[x] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 10 et 11. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 325.
[y] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 6, p. 597.
[z] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 9. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.

In our times her armies have been compoſed of a few Spartans, and a body of neodami, or newly enfranchiſed citizens; to which were added, according to circumſtances, troops from Laconia, and a ſtill greater number furniſhed by the cities in alliance with Lacedæmon [a].

After the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas, having reſtored liberty to Meſſenia, deprived the Spartans, by whom it had long been held in ſlavery, of the means of recruiting in that country; and ſeveral of the ſtates of Peloponneſus having forſaken them, their power, heretofore ſo formidable, ſunk into a ſtate of feebleneſs from which it is not probable that it will ever recover.

[a] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 652, &c.

CHAP. LI.

Defence of the Laws of Lycurgus: Cauſes of their Decline.

I HAVE ſaid above, that Philotas had ſet out for Athens the day after our arrival at Lacedæmon. He had not yet returned, at which I was very uneaſy: I could not conceive how he could ſupport for ſo long a time a ſeparation ſo cruel. But, before I left Lacedæmon to rejoin him, I was deſirous to have a ſecond converſation with Damonax. In the former he had conſidered the laws of Lycurgus as they were when they flouriſhed in their full vigour; but I every day ſaw them yield with ſo little reſiſtance to dangerous innovations, that I began to entertain doubts of their ancient influence. I accordingly took the firſt opportunity to explain myſelf to him on this ſubject.

One evening the converſation inſenſibly leading us to mention Lycurgus, I affected leſs eſteem for that great man than I really felt. It ſeems, ſaid I, that many of your laws have been borrowed

from the Perſians and the Egyptians [b]. Damonax anſwered: The architect who conſtructed the labyrinth of Egypt deſerves not leſs praiſe for having decorated its entrance with that beautiful Parian marble which he procured from ſuch a diſtance [c]. To judge of the genius of Lycurgus, we muſt conſider the whole of his legiſlation. And this whole it is, replied I, of the honour of which ſome attempt to deprive you. The Athenians [d], and the Cretans [e], maintain that their conſtitutions, though different from each other, have yet ſerved as models for yours.

The teſtimony of the former, replied Damonax, is always weakened by a puerile partiality. They allow us no praiſe but to appropriate it to themſelves. The opinion of the Cretans is better founded. Lycurgus adopted many of the laws of Minos, and rejected others [f]. Thoſe which he choſe he modified in ſuch a manner, and accommodated them ſo well to his plan, that it may be ſaid he diſcovered what Minos, and perhaps others before him, had already diſcovered. If

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[b] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 59 et 60. Iſocr. in Buſir. t. ii. p. 162. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41 et 42. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 88.

[c] Plin. lib. 36, cap. 13, p. 739.

[d] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 260.

[e] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 65. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 318. Id. de Leg. lib. 3, p. 683. Xenoph. Ephor. Calliſth. ap. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 488. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 332. Strab. lib. 10, p. 477.

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.

we compare the two governments, we ſhall ſee ſometimes the ideas of a great man brought to perfection by a ſtill greater man, and ſometimes differences ſo ſenſible that we ſhall wonder how it has been poſſible ever to confound them [g]. One great example of this oppoſition of views is, that the laws of Minos admit of the inequality of fortunes [h], which ours have forbidden; and hence cannot but reſult an eſſential diverſity in the conſtitutions and manners of the two people. Yet, replied I, gold and ſilver have now forced the barriers raiſed againſt them by your ineffectual laws, and you are no longer, as formerly, happy from your privations, and rich, if I may ſo ſpeak, from your indigence.

Damonax was about to anſwer, when he heard ſome perſon in the ſtreet crying: Open, open; for at Lacedæmon it is not permitted to knock at the door [i]. It was my friend; it was Philotas. I ran to embrace him, and in an inſtant he was in my arms. I preſented him again to Damonax, who, a moment after, retired, and left us together. Philotas aſked me what I thought of him. He is, replied I, good and affable, and poſſeſſes the politeneſs of the heart, which is much ſuperior to that of form and ceremony; his manners are ſimple, and

[g] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 489.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

his ſentiments virtuous. Philotas concluded that Damonax was as ignorant as the generality of Spartans. I added, he is an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the laws of Lycurgus. Philotas remarked that he thought his ſalutation more awkward this time than at our firſt interview.

My friend was ſo prejudiced in favour of his own nation, that he deſpiſed every other people, and ſovereignly hated the Lacedæmonians. He had collected againſt the latter all the ridiculous pleaſantries levelled at them from the ſtage of Athens, all the reproaches with which they are loaded by Athenian orators, all the acts of injuſtice of which they are accuſed by Athenian hiſtorians, and all the defects and errors which the philoſophers of Athens cenſure in the laws of Lycurgus. Provided with theſe weapons, he inceſſantly attacked the partiſans of Sparta. I have frequently endeavoured to cure him of this prejudice, for I could not bear that my friend ſhould have a fault.

He had returned to Laconia through Argolis, from whence to Lacedæmon the road is ſo bad and rugged, that, exhauſted with fatigue, he ſaid to me, before he went to bed: No doubt, according to your laudable cuſtom, you will make me climb up ſome rock, that I may admire at my leiſure the environs of this ſuperb city; for there is here no want of mountains to procure that pleaſure to travellers. To-morrow, replied I, we will go to

the Menelaion, an eminence ſituated beyond the Eurotas, and Damonax will have the goodneſs to accompany us.

The next day we paſſed the Babyx, which is the name given to the bridge over the Eurotas [k]. We ſoon came in ſight of the ruins of ſome houſes which formerly ſtood on the left bank of the river, but which had been deſtroyed in the late war by the army of Epaminondas [l]. My friend took this opportunity to pronounce the panegyric of the greateſt enemy the Lacedæmonians had ever had, and was ſorry to find that Damonax did not anſwer a word.

As we continued our way, we ſaw three or four Lacedæmonians with cloaks ſtriped with different colours, and with their faces ſhaved only on one ſide [m]. What farce are theſe good folks acting? ſaid Philotas. They, ſaid Damonax, are *Tremblers* [n], ſo called becauſe they ran away in the battle in which we repulſed the troops of Epaminondas. They are eaſily known by their dreſs and appearance, of which they are ſo much aſhamed that they only frequent ſolitary places, and, as you ſee, ſhun our approach [o].

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[k] Ariſt. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Heſych. in Βαβυξ.
[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 608.
[m] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612.
[n] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 3, cap. 7.
[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.

After having, from the top of the hill, ſurveyed that beautiful country which extends toward the ſouth, and thoſe lofty mountains which bound Laconia to the weſt, we ſat ourſelves down fronting the city of Sparta. I had on my right hand Damonax, and on my left Philotas, who ſcarcely deigned to look on the irregular heap of cottages before him. Yet, ſaid I to him, is this the humble abode of that people among whom is ſo early taught the art of commanding, and the ſtill more difficult art of obedience[p]? Philotas graſped my hand, and made a ſign to me to be ſilent. I added—of a nation which was never elated by ſucceſs, nor depreſſed by misfortune[q]? Philotas replied, in a whiſper: In the name of all the gods, do not force me to ſpeak; you have already ſeen that this man is incapable of anſwering me. I continued—which has conſtantly maintained a ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece, which has defied the Perſians, frequently defeated the generals of the Athenians, and at laſt made itſelf maſter of their capital; which throughout all Greece——? Is ſovereignly deteſted for its tyranny, and deſpiſed for its vices, cried Philotas; and immediately bluſhing at what he had ſaid, Excuſe, ſaid he to Damonax, this emotion of anger in a young man who adores his

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[p] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212.
[q] Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 84.

country, and will not ſilently ſuffer it to be inſulted in his preſence. I reverence that ſentiment, replied the Spartan; Lycurgus has made it the grand motive of all our actions. O my ſon! he who loves his country obeys the laws. Yours deſerves your attachment, and I ſhould blame Anacharſis for having carried his pleaſantry ſo far, had he not by it afforded us an opportunity mutually to cure each other of our prejudices. We will enter the liſts, you with all the advantages you have derived from your education, and I with no other weapon but the love of truth.

Philotas now ſaid to me, in a whiſper, This Spartan really poſſeſſes good ſenſe; ſave me from the pain of wounding his feelings, and turn, if poſſible, the converſation on ſome other ſubject. Damonax, ſaid I, Philotas has drawn a character of the Spartans, after the repreſentations of Athenian writers; deſire him to ſhew it you. The anger of my friend was now ready to burſt upon me, but Damonax prevented it by addreſſing him as follows: You have reproached my country, and it is my duty to defend it. You are to blame if you have only ſpoken from your own ideas on the ſubject; but I excuſe you if you have taken up your opinion from what has been ſaid of us by ſome Athenians; for I cannot believe that all of them think ſo ill of us. You are right, replied Philotas, briſkly; there are thoſe among them who

look upon you as a kind of demi-gods[r], and who endeavour to copy you in every thing; but I muſt confeſs our men of ſenſe and learning expreſs themſelves very freely on the ſubject of your laws and manners. The philoſophers I mean are the men of the greateſt genius which Greece has produced, ſuch as Plato, Iſocrates, and Ariſtotle, and ſurely they muſt have been well informed. Damonax diſſembled his ſurpriſe, and Philotas, after many apologies, proceeded as follows:

Lycurgus was ignorant of the order in which the virtues ſhould be arranged; he gave the firſt place to courage[s], and hence that train of ills which the Lacedæmonians have themſelves ſuffered, and which they have brought upon others.

Scarcely was that legiſlator dead, when their ambition invaded the neighbouring ſtates[t]. This fact is atteſted by an hiſtorian with whom you are unacquainted, and who is named Herodotus. Devoured by the deſire of dominion, their weakneſs has often forced them to ſubmit to humiliating meanneſs, and to be guilty of atrocious injuſtice. They were the firſt to corrupt the generals of their enemies[u], and the firſt to ſolicit the protection of the Perſians, of thoſe barbarians to whom, by the

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[r] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 201.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. i. p. 630; lib. 4, p. 705.
[t] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 17, p. 321.

peace of Antalcidas, they have not long ſince ſold the liberties of the Aſiatic Greeks [x].

They are full of diſſimulation in all their dealings, perfidious in their treaties [y], and ſupply the place of courage in battle by ſtratagem [z]. The ſucceſs of any ſtate cauſes in them the moſt envious uneaſineſs. They raiſe up enemies againſt it, and endeavour to diſtract it by inteſtine diviſions which they excite or foment. In the laſt century they propoſed to deſtroy Athens which had ſaved Greece [a], and kindled the Peloponneſian war which ended in the ruin of Athens [b].

Lycurgus in vain endeavoured to preſerve them from the poiſon of riches. Lacedæmon conceals within itſelf an immenſe quantity of wealth [c], but it is only in the hands of ſome individuals whoſe avarice can never be ſatiated [d]. They only are preferred to employments, refuſed to merit, which groans in indigence [e]. Their wives, whoſe education Lycurgus neglected, as he has done that of

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[x] Iſocr. in Panegyr. t. i. p. 184. Id. in Panath. t. ii. p. 234. Polyb. lib. 6, p. 492.

[y] Euripid. in Androm. v. 446. Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 216 et 1067; in Lyſiſt. v. 630.

[z] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 39.

[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 375.

[b] Dionyſ. Halic. t. vi. p. 770.

[c] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 122.

[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 331; lib. 5, cap. 7, p. 396.

[e] Pericl. ibid. cap. 37.

all the Lacedæmonian women, govern and betray them. They partake of their covetouſneſs, and by their diſſolute lives increaſe the general corruption [f].

The virtue of the Lacedæmonians is gloomy, auſtere, and founded ſolely on fear [g]: their education renders them ſo cruel that they can behold the blood of their children flow without regret, and that of their ſlaves without remorſe.

Theſe accuſations are very heavy, ſaid Philotas as he concluded, and I know not how you will anſwer them. By the remark of the lion, replied the Spartan, who, when he was ſhewn the figure of an animal of his own ſpecies beneath the feet of a man, contented himſelf with obſerving that lions were not ſculptors. Philotas, ſurpriſed, ſaid to me in a whiſper, Has he then read the fables of Æſop? I cannot tell, ſaid I; he has perhaps heard this ſtory from ſome Athenian. Damonax, however, proceeded as follows: Believe me, we concern ourſelves no more with what is ſaid in the forum of Athens than with what happens beyond the pillars of Hercules [h]. How! cried Philotas, will you ſuffer your name to be circulated from city to city, and tranſmitted from generation to generation, with ignominy? Men who are ſtrangers

[f] Plato de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 806. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 328.
[g] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 37.
[h] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 312.

to the country and age in which we live, replied Damonax, will never venture to condemn us on the credit of a nation which has always been our rival, and frequently our enemy. Who can even ſay but we may find defenders?—Gracious Heaven! and what can they produce in oppoſition to that portrait with which I have juſt preſented you?—A portrait more faithful, and drawn by no leſs able maſters. I will give it to you.

A government which truly deſerves the name exiſts alone at Lacedæmon and in Crete; elſewhere we only find ſocieties of citizens, ſome of whom are maſters and the reſt ſlaves [i]. At Lacedæmon there is no other diſtinction between the king and the private individual, the rich and the poor, than that which the legiſlator inſpired by the gods themſelves has fixed [k]. Lycurgus was under the immediate guidance of a divinity when he reſtrained by a ſenate the too great authority of the kings [l].

This government, of which the conſtituent powers are ſo well counterbalanced [m], and the wiſdom of which is ſo generally acknowledged [n],

[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 712.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 3, p. 696.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 692.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 6, t. ii. p. 321; cap. 11, p. 335; lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 374.
[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 466. Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Id. in Areop. p. 342. Id. in Archid. t. ii. p. 34. Plat. de Rep. lib. 10, t. ii. p. 599. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 335. Demoſth. adv. Leptin. p. 556.

has ſubſiſted during four centuries without experiencing any eſſential change, or exciting the leaſt diſſenſion among the citizens [o]. Never in thoſe happy times did the republic do any thing at which ſhe had cauſe to bluſh [p]; never was ſeen in any ſtate ſo perfect a ſubmiſſion to the laws, ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, frugality, mildneſs, magnanimity, valour, and modeſty [q]. Then was it that, notwithſtanding the inſtances of our allies, we refuſed to deſtroy that Athens [r] which ſince — At theſe words Philotas exclaimed, You have certainly only conſulted Lacedæmonian writers. We have none, replied Damonax.—Thoſe from whom you have your accounts were then ſold to Lacedæmon?—We have never bought any. Would you wiſh to know my authorities? They are the firſt men of genius Greece has produced; Plato, Thucydides, Iſocrates, Xenophon, and others. I had formed intimate connections with ſeveral of theſe in the frequent journeys I made to Athens, by order of our magiſtrates, and to their converſation

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[o] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 18. Lyſ. in Olymp. p. 521. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651. Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 316.

[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 611.

[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1, t. ii. p. 122. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 552. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 287 et 316.

[r] Andocid. de Myſter. pars ſecunda, p. 18. Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2, p. 460; lib. 6, p. 609 et 611. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399 et 414. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1, cap. 45, § 5. Juſtin. lib. 6, cap. 8.

and works I am indebted for that little knowledge which aſtoniſhes you in a Spartan.

Damonax only ſaw ſurpriſe in the countenance of Philotas; but I could likewiſe perceive a fear that he might be accuſed of ignorance or inſincerity. He was however only to be charged with prejudice and levity. I aſked Damonax why the Athenian writers had differed ſo much among themſelves, and indulged in ſo many licences in ſpeaking of his nation. I might anſwer you, replied he, that they yielded by turns to the force of truth and to that of national hatred. But fear nothing, Philotas, I will reſpect your delicacy.

During the war, your orators and poets, in order to animate the populace againſt us, acted like thoſe painters who, to revenge themſelves of their enemies, repreſent them under hideous caricaturas. Your philoſophers and hiſtorians more wiſely dealt out to us at once cenſure and praiſe, both of which, according to the difference of times, we had deſerved. They have acted like thoſe able artiſts who ſucceſſively repreſent their heroes in a tranquil ſtate of mind, and in a fit of rage, with the charms of youth, and the wrinkles and deformities of old age. You and I have juſt been contemplating theſe different repreſentations. You have borrowed all the features which might diſfigure your portrait, and I ſhould have ſelected all thoſe which might embelliſh mine, and thus we ſhould

have preſented each other only with unfaithful copies. We muſt therefore return to the point from which we ſet out, and found our ideas on inconteſtable facts.

I have to defend myſelf againſt two attacks, ſince your objections are equally directed againſt our manners and our government. Our manners maintained their purity during four centuries, as your writers have themſelves acknowledged. They began to be corrupted during the Peloponneſian war, as we ourſelves allow. Cenſure then our preſent vices, but reverence our ancient virtues.

Of the two points which I had to defend, I have compounded for the firſt, but I ſhall yield nothing with reſpect to the ſecond. I ſhall ever maintain, that among all known governments there is not one more admirable than that of Lacedæmon. Plato, it is true, though convinced of its excellence, has thought he could diſcover ſome defects in it[s]; and I am informed that Ariſtotle intends to produce a ſtill greater number.

If theſe defects do not eſſentially injure the conſtitution, I ſhould ſay to Plato: You have taught me that the Supreme Being, when he formed the univerſe, acted on a pre-exiſtent matter, which ſometimes oppoſed his power with an

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 628 et 684; lib. 7, p. 806.

invincible reſiſtance, and that he only effected that good of which the eternal nature of things was ſuſceptible [t]. I will dare to ſay, in my turn, Lycurgus laboured on refractory materials, which participated of the imperfection that reſides in the eſſence of all things; I mean on man, of whom he has made all that it was poſſible to make him.

If it be alleged that the defects of his laws muſt neceſſarily occaſion their deſtruction, I will remind Plato of what is confeſſed by all the Athenian writers [u], and what he himſelf not long ago wrote to Dionyſius king of Syracuſe. The law alone reigns at Lacedæmon, and the ſame government has maintained itſelf there, in all its ſplendour, for many ages [x]. But how is it poſſible to conceive that a conſtitution labouring under deſtructive vices, which are inherent in its nature, ſhould continually remain unſhaken, and be never diſturbed by thoſe factions which have ſo often laid waſte the cities of Greece [y]?

This union is the more ſtrange, ſubjoined I, as, among you, the one half of the citizens are ſubjected to the laws, and the other not. This, at leaſt, is what the philoſophers of Athens advance. They ſay that your legiſlation does not extend to

[t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii.

[u] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 18. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651, et alii ut ſupra.

[x] Plut. Epiſt. 8, t. iii. p. 354.

[y] Lyſ. in Olymp. p. 521.

the women, who, having gained an abſolute dominion over their huſbands, accelerate from day to day the progreſs of corruption[z].

Damonax anſwered: Inform thoſe philoſophers that our daughters are educated in the ſame diſcipline, and with the ſame rigour, as our ſons; that they are accuſtomed to the ſame exerciſes; that they bring to their huſbands no other portion than their virtues[a]; that when they become mothers, they have the ſuperintendance of the long education of their children, at firſt in conjunction with their huſbands, and afterwards with the magiſtrates; that public cenſors continually watch over their conduct[b]; that the care of the ſlaves and the houſehold affairs is entirely committed to them[c]; that Lycurgus was careful to forbid them every kind of ornament[d]; that it is not fifty years ſince the women of Lacedæmon were perſuaded a rich dreſs would diminiſh their beauty[e]; and that before that period the purity of their manners was generally acknowledged[f]. Laſtly, aſk them, whether, in a ſtate where the men are virtuous, it is poſſible that the women ſhould not be ſo likewiſe?

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[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 806. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 328 et 329. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 523.

[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. Juſtin. lib. 3, cap. 3.

[b] Heſych. in Αρμόσυν.

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 806.

[d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[e] Plut. in Lyſandr. t. i. p. 434.

[f] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.

Your daughters, replied I, are habituated from their infancy to laborious exerciſes, and this Plato approves; but they no longer uſe theſe exerciſes after their marriage, and this he condemns. In fact, in a government like yours, it is neceſſary that the women, after the example of thoſe of the Sarmatians, ſhould be always able to attack or repel the enemy[g]. We bring up our girls ſo hardily, anſwered he, that they may have a robuſt conſtitution; but we require in our women only the peaceful virtues of their ſex. Why ſhould we put arms in their hands, ſince we are ourſelves able to defend them?

Here Philotas broke ſilence, and, in a more modeſt tone, ſaid to Damonax: Since your laws have only war for their object, would it not be eſſential to multiply among you the number of thoſe who may bear arms? War the object of our laws! exclaimed the Spartan: I recognize the language of your writers[h], who aſcribe to the wiſeſt and moſt humane of legiſlators the project of all others the moſt cruel and abſurd; the moſt cruel, if he wiſhed to perpetuate in Greece a ſoldiery thirſting for the blood of nations and for conqueſts; the moſt abſurd, ſince to effect it he has only propoſed means abſolutely contrary to his views[i].

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 806.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 630; lib. 4, p. 705. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 331.
[i] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 491.

Examine our military code; its regulations, taken in their literal ſenſe, only tend to inſpire us with generous ſentiments, and repreſs our ambition. We are, it is true, ſo unfortunate as to diſregard them, but they do not for that the leſs inform us of the real intentions of Lycurgus.

By what means, in fact, can a nation enlarge its dominions, whoſe valour is enchained at every ſtep; which, deprived by its laws of mariners and ſhips [k], is incapable of extending its territories on the ſide of the ſea; and which, forbidden by the ſame laws to beſiege the ſtrong places that defend the frontiers of its neighbours [l], is equally unable to enlarge them on that of the land; which is forbidden to purſue a flying enemy, or to enrich itſelf with his ſpoils [m]; which, prohibited from frequently making war on the ſame people [n], is obliged to prefer the methods of negotiation to force of arms; which, not being permitted to march before the full moon, nor to fight on certain feſtivals [o], is ſometimes in danger of ſeeing all its projects prove abortive; and which,

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[k] Plut, Inſtit, Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[l] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 69. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t, ii. p. 228 et 233.

[m] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 73. Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 8, p. 300. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6, cap. 6.

[n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Polyæn. Strateg lib. 1, cap. 16.

[o] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 106; lib. 7, cap. 206; lib. 9, cap. 11. Thucyd, lib. 5, cap. 76.

by its extreme poverty, is at all times incapable of undertaking any great enterpriſe[p]? Lycurgus has not intended to form of us a nation of conquerors, but of tranquil warriors, who breathe only peace if they are left unmoleſted, but who reſpire nothing but war if any foreign power ſhould dare to diſturb their repoſe.

It ſeems nevertheleſs, replied Philotas, that by the nature of things a nation of warriors muſt ſooner or later degenerate into a nation of conquerors, and we ſee by the courſe of events that you have experienced this change without perceiving it. You are, in fact, accuſed of having early conceived, and never having totally loſt ſight of, the deſign of enſlaving the Arcadians[q] and Argives[r]. I ſhall not ſpeak of your wars with the Meſſenians, for you believe that you are able to juſtify them.

I have already ſaid, anſwered Damonax, that we have no annals. Some confuſed traditions inform us, that anciently we had more than once diſputes with the neighbouring ſtates. Were we the aggreſſors? This is a queſtion which neither you nor I are able to anſwer with certainty. But I know that in thoſe diſtant ages one of our kings having defeated the Argives, our allies adviſed

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[p] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 493.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 210.
[r] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 82. Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 227 et 231. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 4, p. 211; cap. 7, p. 219.

him to ſeize on their city. The opportunity was favourable, and the conqueſt eaſy; but he replied: This would be an injuſtice; we made war to ſecure our own frontiers, and not to uſurp territories to which we have no kind of right[s]. Would you wiſh to be acquainted with the true ſpirit of our inſtitutions; conſider more recent facts, and compare our conduct with that of the Athenians.

The Greeks had triumphed over the Perſians, but the war was not yet concluded. It was ſucceſsfully continued under the conduct of Pauſanias, who abuſed his power. We recalled him, and, having obtained undoubted proofs of his malverſations, condemned to death the conqueror at Platæa. The allies, however, offended at his haughtineſs, had transferred to the Athenians the ſupreme command of the army. This was to deprive us of a right which we had till then enjoyed, and which placed us at the head of the ſtates of Greece. Our warriors, inflamed with rage, were eager to defend our claim with the ſword; but an aged man having repreſented to them that foreign wars were only proper to corrupt the manners of the nation[t], they immediately reſolved rather to renounce their right than endanger their virtues. Is this the character of conquerors?

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[s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 38. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.

Athens, become, with our conſent, the firſt ſtate in Greece, daily extended her conqueſts. Nothing reſiſted her power, or ſatisfied her ambition. Her fleets and armies alike attacked with impunity friends and enemies. The complaints of oppreſſed Greece reached our ears [u], but certain critical circumſtances prevented us from liſtening to them, and when times were more tranquil we diſregarded them through indolence. The torrent at length began to burſt on our ancient allies of the Peloponneſus, who were diſpoſed to abandon us [x], and perhaps even to turn the ſtream againſt us, if we had refuſed any longer to reſiſt its progreſs.

In what I have now ſaid I cannot be ſuſpected of diſguiſing the truth, ſince I only ſpeak after the moſt accurate hiſtorian of Greece, an enlightened Athenian, and an impartial witneſs to the facts he relates [y]. Read, in the work of Thucydides, the diſcourſe of the ambaſſador of Corinth [z], and that of the king of Lacedæmon [a]. Obſerve how much we then laboured to preſerve peace [b], and judge for yourſelf whether the Peloponneſian war was to be attributed to our ambition, as it will, perhaps,

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[u] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 101; lib. 3, cap. 10.
[x] Id. lib. 1, cap. 71.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 118; lib. 5, cap. 26.
[z] Id. lib. 1, cap. 68.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 80.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 139; lib. 2, cap. 12.

one day be aſſerted on the report of ſome prejudiced writers [c].

A nation cannot be ambitious which by character and principle is extremely ſlow in forming and executing projects [d], which ventures to hazard nothing, and which muſt be forced to take arms [e]. No; we were not jealous, it had been too great a ſhame to us had we been ſo; but we felt an indignation at ſeeing thoſe flouriſhing countries, which we had ſaved from the yoke of the Perſians, ready to ſubmit to that of a ſingle city of Greece.

In this long and calamitous war both parties committed groſs faults, and were guilty of horrible cruelties. More than once the Athenians muſt have perceived that, from our ſlowneſs to profit by our advantages, we were not the moſt dangerous of their enemies [f]; more than once they muſt have been aſtoniſhed at our eagerneſs to terminate thoſe miſchiefs which had been protracted much longer than we had expected [g]. In every campaign and expedition we teſtified in the moſt lively manner our regret at the interruption of our tranquillity. Almoſt always the laſt to take arms and the firſt to quit them, when conquerors we

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[c] Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 770.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 70, 118 et 120.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 118; lib. 8, cap. 96.
[f] Id. lib. 8, cap. 96.
[g] Id. lib. 5, cap. 14.

offered peace[h], and ſolicited it when vanquiſhed[i].

Such were in general our diſpoſitions, and happy had we been had the diviſions which began to ariſe in Sparta[k], and the reſpect we owed to our allies, permitted us always to conform to them. But they were manifeſted in the moſt unequivocal manner at the taking of Athens. The Corinthians, Thebans, and ſome other ſtates, propoſed to deſtroy the city to the foundations; but we rejected the propoſal[l]. In fact it was not the houſes and temples of Athens which ſhould have been buried in the bowels of the earth, but thoſe treaſures ſhe contained, thoſe valuable ſpoils and immenſe ſums which Lyſander, the general of our fleet, had collected in the courſe of his expeditions, and which he by degrees introduced into Sparta[m] *. I remember, though I was then very young, that the wiſeſt men among us ſhuddered at the ſight of their mortal enemy. Rouſed by their remonſtrances, the ephori propoſed to baniſh for ever thoſe riches, the fruitful ſource of the diviſions and diſorders with which we were threatened[n]; but

[h] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 13.

[i] Id. lib. 4, cap. 15 et 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 177. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pac. v. 664.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 36.

[l] Andocyd. de Myſt. pars ſecunda, p. 18. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 460. Iſocr. Juſtin. et alii ut ſupra.

[m] Xenoph. ibid. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 13, p. 225.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Athen. lib. 6, p. 233. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

the party of Lyſander prevailed, and it was determined that the gold and ſilver ſhould be converted into money, and applied to the ſervice of the republic, not that of individuals [o]: a mad and fatal reſolution; for when the government had affixed a value to thoſe metals, it could not but be expected that individuals would ſoon conſider them as objects of the greateſt importance.

They ſeduce you without difficulty, ſaid I, becauſe, according to the remark of Plato, your laws have only armed you againſt pain, and not againſt pleaſure [p]. When the poiſon has inſinuated itſelf into the ſtate, replied Damonax, philoſophy alone can guard us againſt its baneful effects; but before its entrance the legiſlator muſt confine himſelf to preventing its approach; for the beſt mode of avoiding certain dangers is to be ignorant of them. But, replied I, ſince the aſſembly accepted the fatal preſent which Lyſander offered, he was not the firſt author of the changes which your manners have undergone.

Theſe, anſwered he, had a more diſtant origin [q]. The Perſian war had thrown us into the midſt of that world from which Lycurgus had wiſhed to preſerve us diſtinct. During half a century, in

[o] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 442. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14, cap. 29.

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1, t. ii. p. 634.

[q] Diſſert. de M. Mathon de la Cour, et de M. l'Abbé de Gourcy ſur la Decadence des Lois de Lycurge.

contempt of our ancient maxims, we had led our armies into diſtant countries, and there formed intimate connections with their inhabitants. Our manners, inceſſantly intermingled with thoſe of foreign nations, were corrupted like pure waters which paſs over an infected or contagious moraſs. Our generals, vanquiſhed by the preſents of thoſe over whom they ought to have triumphed with their arms, diminiſhed from day to day the luſtre of our glory and their own. We puniſhed them at their return; but, from the rank and merit of the offenders, their crime was ſurveyed with leſs horror, and the law inſpired only fear. More than once Pericles had purchaſed the ſilence of ſome of our magiſtrates, who had ſufficient influence to make us ſhut our eyes on the enterpriſes of the Athenians [r].

After this war, which crowned us with glory, but at the ſame time communicated to us the germ of deſtructive vices, we ſaw, without alarm, or, as I ſhould rather ſay, we participated in, the violent paſſions of two men of powerful genius, whom our unhappy deſtiny raiſed up in the midſt of us. Lyſander and Ageſilaus undertook to exalt Sparta to the ſummit of power, the one to reign over her, and the other to reign with her.

The Athenians more than once defeated by ſea,

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[r] Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 621. Theophr. ap. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 164.

a war of ſeven-and-twenty years terminated in an hour [s], Athens taken, many cities delivered from an odious yoke, others receiving from us magiſtrates who ended by oppreſſing them, Greece reduced to ſilence and forced to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Sparta; ſuch are the principal features which characterize the brilliant adminiſtration of Lyſander.

His politics were only acquainted with two principles, force and perfidy. In conſequence of ſome differences which had ariſen between us and the Argives, with reſpect to their boundaries, the latter produced their titles to the lands in queſtion. This is my anſwer, ſaid Lyſander, laying his hand on his ſword [t]. His favourite maxim was, that "children would be deceived with toys, and men with oaths [u]."

Hence his oppreſſion and injuſtice when he had nothing to fear, and his craft and diſſimulation when he dared not have recourſe to open violence. At the courts of the ſatraps of Aſia he ſubmitted without a murmur to the inſults of their oſtentatious grandeur [x], and the next moment behaved to the Greeks with the ſame haughtineſs and contempt with which he had himſelf been treated by the Perſians.

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[s] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 439.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 445.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 437. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 229.
[x] Id. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.

When he had obtained the empire of the ſea, he every where aboliſhed the democratical government, for ſuch was the cuſtom of Sparta *; and he followed it with pertinacity, that he might improve the opportunity to place at the head of each city men who had no other merit than an entire ſubmiſſion to his will [y]. Theſe revolutions were not effected without torrents of tears and blood. He omitted nothing to enrich his creatures, or to cruſh his enemies, for by that name he called all thoſe who defended the true intereſts of the people. His hatred was implacable, his vengeance terrible; and when his naturally gloomy diſpoſition was ſharpened by the peeviſhneſs of age [z], the leaſt reſiſtance rendered him ferocious [a]. On one occaſion he cauſed eight hundred of the inhabitants of Miletus to be maſſacred, who, confiding in his oath, had been ſo imprudent as to leave the place of their retreat [b].

Sparta ſilently acquieſced in theſe acts of atrocity [c]. He had procured a great number of par-

* Nothing does more honour to Sparta than this practice. By the exceſſive abuſe which the people every where made of their authority, each city was diſtracted with factions, and frequent wars were occaſioned among all the ſtates of Greece.

[y] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 435.

[z] Ariſtot. Probl. § 30, t. ii. p. 815. Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 434 et 439.

[a] Plut. ibid. p. 445.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 443.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 444.

tiſans among us by the ſeverity of his manners[d], his obedience to the magiſtrates, and the ſplendour of his victories. When by his unbounded liberality, and the terror of his name, he had acquired a ſtill greater number among foreign nations, he was conſidered as the ſovereign arbiter of Greece[e]. Yet, though he was of the houſe of the Heraclidæ[f], he was too far removed from the throne to entertain any hopes of arriving at the royal dignity. He therefore ſupported and raiſed to the crown Ageſilaus, whom he tenderly loved, and whoſe right might be conteſted. As he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to reign under the name of this young prince, he inſpired him with a thirſt for glory, and intoxicated him with the hope of ſubverting the vaſt empire of the Perſians. Deputies from ſeveral cities ſoon after arrived, by the ſecret procurement of Lyſander, who requeſted Ageſilaus to command the army which they had raiſed againſt the Perſians; and that prince immediately departed, attended by a council of thirty Spartans, of which Lyſander was preſident[g].

When they arrived in Aſia, all the petty deſpots which Lyſander had placed in the neighbouring cities, tyrants a thouſand times more cruel than

[d] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 445.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 434.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 446.

thoſe who reign over great empires, ſince cruelty increaſes in proportion to its weakneſs, acknowledged only their protector, ſervilely crouched at his feet, and only rendered to the ſovereign that reſpect to which they were compelled by decency. Ageſilaus, jealous of his authority, ſoon perceived that though he nominally held the firſt rank, he in reality only acted a ſecond part: he therefore purpoſely gave repeated occaſions of offence to his friend, who returned to Sparta breathing vengeance [h]. He then reſolved to carry into execution a project which he had formerly conceived, and the plan of which he had traced out in a memoir [i], found after his death among his papers.

The houſe of Hercules is divided into ſeveral branches, two only of which poſſeſs the right to the crown. Lyſander wiſhed to extend this right to the other branches, and even to all the Spartans. The honour of reigning over free men would have become the reward of virtue; and Lyſander, by his influence, might one day have inveſted himſelf with the ſupreme authority. As ſuch a revolution could not be effected by open force, he had recourſe to impoſture.

A report was current that, in the kingdom of Pontus, a woman had brought forth a ſon, of whom

[h] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 447.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 450.

Apollo

Apollo was the father, and whom the chiefs of the nation had cauſed to be brought up under the name of Silenus. This vague rumour ſuggeſted to Lyſander the idea of an intrigue which he conducted for many years, without appearing in it himſelf, by the means of ſubaltern agents; ſome of whom reminded the people at intervals of the miraculous birth of the child, while others declared that the prieſts of Delphi had in their poſſeſſion certain old oracles, which they were not permitted to look into, and which they were one day to remit to the ſon of the god of whoſe altars they were the miniſters.

The unravelling of the plot of this ſtrange farce now approached. Silenus had appeared in Greece. It was concerted, that he ſhould repair to Delphi; that the prieſts, who had been ſecured in the intereſt of the ſcheme, ſhould examine, in the preſence of a great number of witneſſes, the proofs of his divine birth; and that, compelled to acknowledge him the ſon of Apollo, they ſhould deliver into his hands the ancient propheſies, which he ſhould read in preſence of the numerous aſſembly collected on the occaſion; and that, by one of theſe oracles, it ſhould be declared that the Spartans ſhould from that time elect their kings from among the moſt virtuous of the citizens.

At the moment when this project was to have been carried into execution, one of the principal

actors in it, terrified at the poſſible conſequences of the impoſture, dared not complete what he had undertaken [k]; and Lyſander, in deſpair, procured for himſelf the command of ſome troops which were to be ſent into Bœotia, where he fell in battle [l]. We decreed honours to his memory [m], though we ought to have ſtigmatized it with infamy. He contributed more than any other man to deprive us of our moderation and our poverty.

His ſyſtem of aggrandizement was followed more methodically by Ageſilaus. I ſhall not ſpeak to you of his great achievements in Greece, Aſia, and Egypt. He was more dangerous than Lyſander, becauſe, with the ſame talents, he poſſeſſed more virtues; and, with the ſame ambition, was always exempt from preſumption and vanity. He never ſuffered any ſtatue to be erected to him [n]. Lyſander himſelf conſecrated his own in the temple of Delphi, and permitted altars to be raiſed and ſacrifices to be offered to him; he laviſhed rewards on poets, who in return laviſhed their praiſes; and he always carried one of them with him to obſerve and celebrate the ſmalleſt advantages he obtained [o].

Both enriched their creatures while they them-

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[k] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 448.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 449.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 451.
[n] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 673.
[o] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 443.

ſelves lived in extreme poverty, and both were alike conſtantly inacceſſible to pleaſures [p].

Both to obtain the command of armies ſhamefully flattered the ephori, and concluded by transferring to them all real power. Lyſander, after the taking of Athens, wrote to them thus: "I have told the Athenians, that it is for you to decide on war and peace [q]." Ageſilaus roſe up from his throne whenever the ephori appeared [r].

Both, aſſured of the protection of thoſe magiſtrates, inſpired the Spartans with a kind of phrenſy; and, by a ſeries of acts of injuſtice and violence [s], raiſed up againſt us that Epaminondas who, after the battle of Leuctra, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Meſſenians, reduced us to the deplorable ſtate in which we at preſent are. We have ſeen our power decline with our virtues [t]. The time is paſt when the nations who wiſhed to recover their liberty demanded of Lacedæmon one only of her warriors to break their chains [u].

Yet, as a laſt homage to our expiring laws, let us remark that, in other countries, corruption would have begun by enervating the mind; with us it has

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[p] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434. Id. in Syll. t. i. p. 476.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3, p. 460.
[r] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 597.
[s] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 411. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 234.
[t] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 344. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 78.
[u] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Iſocr. in Archid. p. 36. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

only manifeſted itſelf in great and violent paſſions; in ambition, vengeance, jealouſy of power, and a rage for celebrity. It ſeems as if the vices dared not to approach us but with a kind of circumſpection. The thirſt of gold is not yet univerſal among all ranks, and the love of pleaſure has as yet infected only a ſmall number of individuals. More than once we have ſeen our magiſtrates and generals[x] maintain our ancient diſcipline with vigour, and private citizens diſplay virtues worthy of the moſt incorrupt ages.

Like to thoſe people who, dwelling on the borders of two nations, have adopted and intermingled the languages and cuſtoms of both; the Spartans are at preſent ſituated on the frontiers of virtue and of vice. But we ſhall not long maintain this dangerous poſt. Every inſtant we perceive that an irreſiſtible power drags us toward the bottom of the abyſs. I myſelf am terrified when I reflect on the example I have this day given. What would Lycurgus have ſaid, had he ſeen one of his pupils diſcourſe, diſpute, and employ the figures of oratory? Alas! I have lived too much with the Athenians; I am now only a degenerate Spartan.

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[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 443.

CHAP. LII.

Journey through Arcadia *.

SOME days after this converſation, we left Damonax, with a regret which he deigned to participate, and took the road to Arcadia.

We firſt paſſed the temple of Achilles, which is never opened, and near which the youth who engage in the plataniſtas, in the combats I have before mentioned, offer ſacrifices. Farther on we ſaw ſeven columns, which, it is ſaid, were formerly erected in honour of the ſeven planets. Continuing our journey we arrived at the city of Pellana, and afterward at that of Belmina, ſituated on the confines of Laconia and Arcadia [y]. Belmina is a place of ſtrength, the poſſeſſion of which has frequently been the occaſion of diſputes between the two nations. Its territory is watered by the Eurotas, and a number of ſtreams which deſcend from the neighbouring mountains [z]. It ſtands at the entrance of a defile, which muſt be paſſed to arrive at Mega-

* See the map of Arcadia.
y Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 806.
z Liv. lib. 38, cap. 34. Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 21, p. 263.

lopolis, diſtant from Belmina ninety ſtadia [a] *, and about three hundred and forty † from Lacedæmon. During this whole journey our pleaſure was varied and heightened by our road paſſing ſometimes by the ſide of impetuous and roaring torrents, and ſometimes along the verdant banks of the peaceful waters of the Eurotas, the Thiuns, and the Alpheus.

Arcadia occupies the center of Peloponneſus. Raiſed above the countries which ſurround it [b], it is full of mountains [c], ſome of which are of a prodigious height [d], and are almoſt all covered with foreſts, which contain a great number of fallow deer [e]. The plains are frequently interſected by rivers and ſtreams. In certain places their too abundant waters, finding no outlet in the plain, ſuddenly precipitate themſelves into profound gulphs, purſue their courſe for ſome time through ſubterraneous caverns, and at length burſt forth, and again appear above the earth [f].

Great labour has been employed to turn theſe ſtreams through proper channels, but much yet

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[a] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 35, p. 670.
* Three leagues and a half.
† Near thirteen leagues.
[b] Ariſtot. Probl. § 26, t. ii. p. 806.
[c] Strab. lib. 8, p. 388.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 38, p. 679. Strab. ibid.
[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 35, p. 671.
[f] Ariſtot. Probl. § 26, t. ii. p. 806. Strab. lib. 8, p. 389. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 7, 22, 23, 44 et 54. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 365.

remains to be done. By the ſide of fertile fields we ſaw others which frequent inundations condemn to perpetual ſterility [g]. The former produce wheat and other grain in abundance [h]; on them are fed numerous flocks, for the paſturage is excellent, eſpecially for aſſes and horſes, of which animals the breeds of this country are in great eſtimation [i].

Beſides a great number of plants uſeful in medicine [k], Arcadia produces almoſt all the known ſpecies of trees. The inhabitants, who have made a particular ſtudy of their nature and properties [l], aſſign to the greater part of them appropriate names [m]; but it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the pine, the fir [n], the cypreſs [o], the thya, the andrachne [p], the poplar [q], and a kind of cedar the fruit of which does not ripen till the third year [r]. I omit many others which are equally common, as alſo the trees which are the ornament of gardens. We ſaw in a valley firs of a

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 7, p. 611.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 552.
[i] Strab. lib. 8, p. 388. Varro de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2, cap. 1, § 14.
[k] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 6, p. 367.
[l] Id. lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 130; cap. 7, p. 138; cap. 10, p. 159.
[m] Plin. lib. 16, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 9.
[n] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 10, p. 159.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 41, p. 684.
[p] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 130.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 5, p. 124.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 190. Plin. lib. 13, cap. 5, t. i. p. 636.

prodigious ſize and height, and were told that they owed their luxuriant growth to their happy ſituation, as they were not expoſed either to the rage of the winds or the burning rays of the ſun [s]. In a wood near Mantinea we were ſhewn three kinds of oak [t], one with large leaves, the phagus, and a third, the bark of which is ſo light that it ſwims on the ſurface of the water, and is uſed by fiſhermen to bear up their nets, and by pilots for buoys to their anchors [u].

The Arcadians conſider themſelves as the children of the earth, becauſe they have always dwelt in the ſame country, and never been ſubjected to any foreign yoke [x]. They relate that having firſt taken up their abode on the mountains [y], they learned by degrees to build huts, to clothe themſelves with the ſkins of wild boars, and to prefer to wild, and frequently noxious herbs, the acorns of the phagus, on which they ſtill fed within two or three centuries paſt [z]. What appears certain is that, after having felt the neceſſity of uniting, they were ſtill unacquainted with the charms of ſociety. Their cold and inclement climate [a] gives vigour to their bodies,

[s] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4, cap. 1, p. 283.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 9, p. 146.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 12, p. 623.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 2. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 618. Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 286.
[y] Strab. lib. 8, p. 333.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 1, p. 599.
[a] Ariſtot. Probl. § 26, t. ii. p. 806.

and harſhneſs and aſperity to their minds. To ſoften and humanize their ſtern and rugged diſpoſitions, ſome ſages of ſuperior genius reſolved to awaken in them new ſenſations, and inſpire them with a taſte for ſong and dance, for poetry and feſtivals. Never did the light of reaſon operate ſo ſpeedy and general a revolution in manners; the effects it produced have remained till our time, becauſe the Arcadians have never ceaſed to cultivate thoſe arts which were ſo beneficial to their anceſtors.

Habituated daily to ſing during their repaſts, it would be a ſhame to them to be ignorant of, or to neglect muſic, which they are obliged to learn from their infancy, and during their youth. In the celebration of their feſtivals, and in their armies, their ſteps and evolutions are regulated by the ſound of flutes [b]. The magiſtrates, perſuaded that theſe enchanting arts can alone preſerve the nation from the influence of the climate, annually aſſemble their young pupils, and make them execute dances before them, that they may be enabled to judge of the proficiency they have made. The example of the Cynætheans juſtifies them in theſe precautions. The people of this ſmall tribe, confined to a narrow ſpace in the north of Arcadia, in the midſt of mountains, and beneath a brazen ſky, have always

[b] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 290. Athen. lib. 14, p. 626.

refuſed to admit among them theſe ſeductive arts, and are become ſo ferocious and cruel that their very name is not pronounced without fear [c].

The Arcadians are humane, beneficent, obſervant of the laws of hoſpitality, patient of labour, and pertinacious in their enterpriſes, in defiance of obſtacles and dangers [d]. They have often fought with ſucceſs, and always with glory. In time of peace they enter for pay into the ſervice of foreign powers, without preference or choice; ſo that they have been ſometimes ſeen to eſpouſe oppoſite parties, and bear arms againſt each other [e]. Notwithſtanding this mercenary ſpirit, they are extremely jealous of their liberty. After the battle of Chæronea, gained by Philip king of Macedon, they refuſed to the conqueror the title of general in chief of the armies of Greece [f].

Arcadia was anciently governed by kings, but afterwards divided into ſeveral republics, all of which have a right to ſend deputies to the general council [g]. Mantinea and Tegea are at the head of this confederation, which would be too formidable were all its forces united; for the country is extremely populous, and is reckoned to contain not

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[c] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 291.
[d] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 618.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 7, cap. 57. Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1, p. 27.
[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 488.
[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 602.

leſs than three hundred thouſand ſlaves [h]. But the jealouſy of power continually occaſions diviſions between the great and leſſer ſtates. In our time, factions had become ſo numerous, that a plan was laid before the aſſembly of the nation, in which, among other regulations, it was propoſed that the power of determining on peace and war ſhould be confided to a body of ten thouſand men [i]. This project, which the new troubles that it occaſioned cauſed to be laid aſide, was again revived with more vigour after the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas, who, to reſtrain the Spartans, had juſt recalled the exiled inhabitants of Meſſenia, propoſed to the Arcadians to deſtroy the ſmall towns which were without defence, and transfer the inhabitants to a place of ſtrength, to be built on the frontiers of Laconia. He furniſhed them with a thouſand men to carry his plan into execution, and the foundations of Megalopolis were immediately laid [k]. This happened about fifteen years before our arrival.

We were greatly aſtoniſhed at the extenſive circuit of the new city [l], and the height of its walls flanked with towers [m]. It already gave umbrage to

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[h] Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 20, p. 271.
[i] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 295. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 372.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 27, p. 654; lib. 9, cap. 14, p. 739.
[l] Polyb. lib. 2, p. 140, lib. 5, p. 432.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 27, p. 657.

Lacedæmon, as I had perceived in a converſation which I had with king Archidamus, who ſome years after attacked this riſing colony, and ended by concluding a treaty with it [n].

The great work of legiſlation next employed the attention of the citizens, who requeſted Plato to give them a code of laws. The philoſopher was much pleaſed with ſo flattering a diſtinction; but having learned both from the deputies of the city and one of his diſciples whom he ſent to Megalopolis, that the inhabitants would never conſent to admit an equality of property, he determined not to comply with their ſolicitation [o].

A ſmall river, called the Helliſon, divides the city into two parts, in both of which houſes and public edifices have been built, and are ſtill building. That to the north contains a forum, incloſed by a ſtone baluſtrade, and ſurrounded by ſacred edifices and porticos. A ſuperb brazen ſtatue of Apollo, twelve feet high, has been erected facing the temple of Jupiter. This ſtatue is a preſent from the Phigaleans, who contributed with pleaſure to the embelliſhment of the new city [p]. Some private individuals have likewiſe done the ſame. One of the

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[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 437.

[o] Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3, § 25. Plut. in Colot, t. ii. p. 1126. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 42.

[p] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 30, p. 662.

porticos bears the name of Ariſtander, who cauſed it to be built at his own expence [q].

In the part to the ſouth, we ſaw a ſpacious edifice, in which is held the aſſembly of the ten thouſand deputies appointed to conduct the important affairs of the ſtate [r]. We were likewiſe ſhewn, in a temple of Eſculapius, bones of an extraordinary ſize, which were ſaid to have been thoſe of a giant [s].

The city contains a great number of ſtatues; among others we ſaw the work of two Athenian artiſts, Cephiſodotus and Xenophon, conſiſting of a group, in which Jupiter is repreſented ſeated on a throne, with the city of Megalopolis on his right hand, and Diana Conſervatrix on his left. The marble of which it is made, is the production of the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, near Athens [t].

I might enumerate many other things of the ſame kind; but, in the relation of my travels, I have always avoided ſpeaking of that prodigious number of temples, altars, ſtatues and tombs, which we met with at every ſtep in the cities, towns, roads, and even the moſt ſolitary places through which we paſſed. I have alſo thought it moſt proper to omit the greater part of the prodigies and

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[q] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 30, p. 663.

[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc, lib. 7, p. 621. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 32, p. 666.

[s] Pauſan. ibid. p. 667.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 30, p. 664.

abſurd fables of which we were fatigued with long recitals. The traveller, who is condemned to hear them, ought to ſpare that pain to his readers. It would be in vain for him to attempt to reconcile the different traditions concerning the hiſtory of the gods and the moſt ancient heroes; his labours would only ſerve to increaſe the confuſion of a chaos impenetrable to the light. It will be ſufficient for him to obſerve in general, that, among different nations, the objects of public worſhip are known under different names, the ſacrifices offered to them accompanied by other rites, and their ſtatues characterized by other attributes.

But he ought principally to direct his attention to thoſe monuments which aſcertain the taſte, knowledge, or ignorance of an age; to deſcribe feſtivals, becauſe images of peace and joy cannot be too often preſented to wretched mortals; and to relate thoſe opinions or cuſtoms which may ſerve for example or inſtruction, even though he ſhould leave the application of them to his reader. Thus, when I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning that, in a certain diſtrict of Arcadia, the Supreme Being is worſhipped under the name of Good [n], thoſe who read my work will feel themſelves invited to love the Author of all things; and when I ſhall add,

[n] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 36, p. 673.

that, in the ſame province, fanaticiſm has immolated human victims[x]*, they will ſhudder to perceive that ſuperſtition can occaſion ſuch horrors even among a people who adore God as ſovereignly good. I return to my narrative.

We had determined to make the tour of Arcadia. This country is only a ſucceſſion of thoſe ſcenes in which Nature has diſplayed the grandeur and fecundity of her ideas, and which ſhe has negligently thrown together without regard to the difference of their kinds. The powerful hand which has placed ſo many enormous and ſterile rocks on their eternal baſes, has ſportively interſperſed at their feet, and in the intervals between them, charming meadows, the aſylums of coolneſs and repoſe. Every where we behold pictureſque ſituations, unexpected contraſts, and admirable effects.

How often, when arrived at the ſummit of a lofty mountain, have we ſeen the lightning flaſh beneath our feet! How often, in the region of the clouds, have we beheld the reſplendence of day change to a dim light, and the air become thick and agitated with violence, preſenting a ſpectacle at once beautiful and terrifying! Thoſe ſtreams

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[x] Pauſan. lib. 2, p. 600. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 27, p. 150.

* See note at the end of the volume.

of vapour which paſſed rapidly beneath our eyes; and plunged down into the deep valleys below; thoſe torrents of waters which, roaring, precipitated themſelves to the bottom of the abyſs; thoſe huge maſſes of mountains which, through the thick fluid by which we were ſurrounded, appeared covered with a black veil; the melancholy cries of birds, and the plaintive murmur of the winds and the trees, ſeemed to preſent to us the image of the hell of Empedocles: ſuch muſt be that ocean of obſcure and whitiſh air which impels and repels the ſouls of the guilty, either through the plains of ether, or amid the globes interſperſed in the wide expanſe of ſpace [y].

We left Megalopolis, and, after having croſſed the Alpheus, proceeded to Lycoſura, ſituated at the foot of Mount Lycæus, formerly called Olympus [z]. This country abounds in woods and fallow deer. In the evening our hoſts wiſhed to entertain us with an account of their city, which is the moſt ancient in the world; of their mountain, on which Jupiter was brought up; of the temple and feſtivals of that god; and eſpecially of his prieſt, who, in time of drought, has power to bring down rain from heaven [a]. They afterwards told us of a hind which was ſtill alive two centuries ago,

y Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830.
z Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 38, p. 678.
a Id. ibid.

and which they ſaid had lived more than ſeven hundred years. It was taken ſome years before the war of Troy, and the date of the time when it was taken was inſcribed on a collar which it wore. It was kept as a ſacred animal in the encloſure appertaining to the temple [b]. Ariſtotle, to whom I one day mentioned this ſtory, citing at the ſame time the authority of Heſiod, who attributes to the life of the ſtag a ſtill longer duration [c], did not ſeem to pay any regard to it, and obſerved to me, that the time of geſtation of this animal, and that of the growth of the young ſtag, by no means indicated ſo long a life [d].

The next day, having reached the top of Mount Lycæus, from whence almoſt the whole of Peloponneſus may be ſeen [e], we were preſent at ſome games celebrated in honour of the god Pan, near a temple and ſmall grove conſecrated to him [f]. After the prize had been beſtowed, we ſaw ſome young perſons who followed with loud burſts of laughter all thoſe whom they met in their way [g]*. We ſaw others who ſtruck the ſtatue of

[b] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 10, p. 620.
[c] Heſiod. ap. Plin. lib. 7, cap. 48, p. 402.
[d] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6, cap. 29, t. i. p. 833. Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. t. vi. p. 93.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 38, p. 679.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 678.
[g] Liv. lib. 1, cap. 5. Plutarch. in Romul. t. i. p. 31.
* The Lupercalia at Rome derived their origin from this feſtival.

the god with whips: they inflicted this puniſhment on him becauſe a hunting, undertaken under his auſpices, had not been ſufficiently ſucceſsful to furniſh them with a meal [h].

The Arcadians however are not the leſs attached to the worſhip of Pan. They have dedicated to him a great number of temples, ſtatues, altars, and ſacred groves [i], and he is repreſented on their coin *. This god purſues the animals which are hurtful to the harveſts; he wanders with pleaſure on the mountains [k], from whence he watches over the numerous flocks which feed in the plain [l]; and from the inſtrument with ſeven pipes, of which he is the inventor [m], produces harmonious ſounds, which re-echo through the neighbouring valleys [n].

Pan formerly enjoyed ſtill greater honours. He predicted future events in one of his temples, in which a lamp was kept burning day and night [o]. The Arcadians ſtill maintain that he diſtributes to mortals, during their life, the rewards and puniſhments which they merit [p]; they place him, like

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[h] Theocr. Idyll. 7, v. 106. Schol. ibid.
[i] Pauſan. paſſim.
* See the plate of coins.
[k] Theocr. Idyll. 1, v. 123. Callim. in Dian. v. 88.
[l] Pind. Olymp. 6, v. 169. Horat. lib. 4, od. 12. Virgil. Eclog. 2, v. 33. Georg. 1, v. 17.
[m] Virg. Eclog. 2, v. 32. Eclog. 8, v. 24.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 36, p. 674.
[o] Id. cap. 37, p. 677.
[p] Id. ibid.

the Egyptians, in the rank of their principal divinities [q], and the name which they give him ſeems to ſignify that he extends his power over all material ſubſtance [r]. Notwithſtanding theſe ſplendid titles, they at preſent limit his functions to the protection of hunters and ſhepherds.

Not far from his temple is that of Jupiter, in the middle of an encloſure which we were not allowed to enter [s]. We afterwards met with other ſacred places, the entrance of which is forbidden to men, but permitted to women [t].

We next proceeded to Phigalea, which is ſeated on a very ſteep rock, and may be ſeen at a conſiderable diſtance [u]. In the forum is a ſtatue which may ſerve for the hiſtory of the arts. The feet are almoſt joined, and the pendent hands are faſtened cloſe to the ſides and thighs [x]; for in this manner were ſtatues formerly ſculptured in Greece [y], and thus they are ſtill in Egypt. That we had now before our eyes was erected for the athleta Arrhachion, who gained one of the prizes in the 52d, 53d, and 54th Olympiads *. We may hence

[q] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 31, p. 664.
[r] Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1, cap. 22.
[s] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 300. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 38, p. 679. Hygin. Poet. Aſtronom. p. 426.
[t] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 5, p. 608; cap. 10, p. 618; cap. 31, p. 685; cap. 36, p. 673.
[u] Id. cap. 39, p. 681.
[x] Id. cap. 40, p. 682.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 276.
* In the years before Chriſt, 572, 568, 564.

conclude that two centuries before our time many ſtatuaries ſtill ſervilely followed the Egyptian taſte.

To the right, and at the diſtance of thirty ſtadia * from the city, is Mount Elaius; to the left, and forty ſtadia † diſtant, Mount Cotylius. On the firſt is ſeen the cave of Ceres, ſurnamed the Black, becauſe that goddeſs, in deſpair for the loſs of Proſerpine, continued ſhut up in it a long time, wearing a mourning habit [z]. On the altar, at the entrance of the cave, are offered, not victims, but fruits, honey, and raw wool [a]. In a town ſituated on the other mountain, we ſurveyed with aſtoniſhment a temple of Apollo; one of the moſt beautiful in Peloponneſus, as well from the choice of the ſtones of which the roof and walls are conſtructed, as from the happy harmony of all its parts. The name of the architect alone would ſuffice to enſure the fame of this edifice. It was built by the ſame Ictinus who, in the time of Pericles, erected the celebrated temple of Minerva [b].

On our return from Phigalea we were preſent at a feſtival which was concluded by a grand entertainment, in which the ſlaves ate with their maſters, and the higheſt praiſes were given to thoſe who devoured the greateſt quantity of eatables [c].

* Somewhat above a league.
† About a league and a half.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 42, p. 685.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 688.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 41, p. 684.
[c] Athen. lib. 4, cap. 13, p. 149.

The next day, returning by Lycoſura, we paſſed the Alpheus, not far from Trapezus, and went to ſleep at Gortys, the plains around which are fertilized by a river of the ſame name. During this whole day we met with merchants and travellers who were going to the little town of Aliphera, at which a fair was to be kept [d]. We did not follow them, becauſe we had often been preſent at ſimilar ſcenes, and becauſe we muſt have journeyed for a long time on the ſlope of a mountain ſurrounded by precipices [e]. Our guides forgot to conduct us into a valley which is in the neighbourhood of Trapezus. The earth there, they told us, caſts forth flames, near the fountain of Olympius, which remains dry one year out of two. They added, that this place was the ſcene of the battle between the gods and the giants, and that, to preſerve the memory of that dreadful conteſt, the inhabitants, on certain occaſions, ſacrifice to the tempeſts the lightning and the thunder [f].

The poets have celebrated the pleaſant coolneſs of the waters of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and of the Melas in Pamphylia; but thoſe of the Gortynius deſerve better their praiſes. The moſt ſevere cold never freezes them, and the greateſt heats

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 26, p. 653.
[e] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 340. Pauſan. ibid. p. 652.
[f] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 29, p. 660.

never alter their temperature[g]. They are moſt delightful, either to bathe in, or to drink.

Beſides poſſeſſing that coolneſs which diſtinguiſhes the waters of Arcadia, thoſe of the Ladon, which we paſſed the next day, are ſo pure and tranſparent that they are no where to be equalled[h]. Near the banks of this river, ſhaded by lofty poplars, we found a number of girls, of the neighbouring country, dancing round a laurel, on which they had hung garlands of flowers. The youthful Clytia, accompanying her voice with her lyre, ſang the loves of Daphne, the daughter of the Ladon, and Leucippus, the ſon of the king of Piſa[i]. No maid in Arcadia was ſo lovely as Daphne, no youth in Elis ſo beautiful as Leucippus. But how might it be poſſible to triumph over a heart which Diana had ſubjected to her laws, and which Apollo had not been able to vanquiſh? Leucippus bound his hair upon his head, clothed himſelf in a light tunic, threw a quiver over his ſhoulders, and, in this diſguiſe, purſued with Daphne the deer and the roe-bucks of the plain. Their furtive loves could not eſcape the jealous eyes of Apollo, who informed the companions of Diana, and the unhappy Leucippus fell

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 28, p. 659.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 25, p. 651.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 638. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 19. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 1, v. 14. Geopon. lib. 11, cap. 2. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. 3, v. 63.

beneath their arrows. Clytia added that the nymph, unable to endure either the preſence of the god, who obſtinately continued his amorous purſuit, or the light which he diſpenſed to mortals, ſupplicated the earth to receive her into her boſom, and that ſhe was metamorpoſed into a laurel *.

We re-aſcended the Ladon, and, turning to the left, took the road to Pſophis [k], through ſeveral villages, and through the wood of Soron, in which are found, as well as in the other foreſts of Arcadia, bears, wild boars, and very large tortoiſes, the ſhells of which are uſed to make lyres [l].

Pſophis is one of the moſt ancient cities of Peloponneſus; it is ſituated on the confines of Arcadia and Elis. A very high hill defends it from the north wind. To the eaſt flows the river Erymanthus, which riſes in a mountain of the ſame name, to which the inhabitants frequently reſort to hunt wild boars and ſtags [m]. To the weſt is a deep bottom, into which a torrent falls, that afterwards continues its courſe toward the ſouth, and loſes itſelf in the Erymanthus [n].

* The Theſſalians affirm, that Daphne was the daughter of the Peneus, and that ſhe was changed into a laurel on the banks of that river.

[k] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 23, p. 644.

[l] Id. ibid.

[m] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 6, v. 103.

[n] Polyb. lib. 4, p. 333.

Our attention was principally engaged by two objects. We here ſaw the tomb of that Alcmæon who, in obedience to the command of his father Amphiaraus, killed his mother Eriphyle, for which he was long purſued by the avenging furies, and at length wretchedly ended a life of dreadful agitation.

Near his tomb, which has no other ornament than ſome cypreſs trees of an extraordinary height[o], we were ſhewn a ſmall field and a little cottage, where, ſome centuries ſince, lived a poor and virtuous man, named Aglaus. Alike a ſtranger to wiſhes or to fears, unknown to men, and ignorant of what paſſed among them, he peaceably cultivated his little farm, the narrow boundaries of which he had never paſſed. He had arrived at an extreme old age, when ambaſſadors from the powerful king of Lydia, Gyges, or Crœſus, were commiſſioned to enquire of the oracle of Delphi whether there exiſted on the face of the whole earth a mortal more happy than that prince. The pythia replied, "Aglaus of Pſophis[p]."

On our way from Pſophis to Pheneos we heard mention made of ſeveral waters which poſſeſſed ſingular properties. The inhabitants of Clitor affirmed, that that of one of their ſprings inſpires

[o] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 24, p. 646.

[p] Id. ibid. p. 647. Plin. lib. 7, cap. 46, t. i, p. 402. Val. Max. lib. 7, cap. 1.

ſo great an averſion for wine, that thoſe who drink of it are afterwards unable to endure even the ſmell of that liquor [q]. Farther on, toward the north, among the mountains, near the city of Nonacris, is a very lofty rock, from which inceſſantly flows a deadly water, which forms the river of the Styx. This is that Styx ſo formidable to gods and men. It winds through a valley to which the Arcadians reſort to confirm their promiſe by the moſt inviolable of oaths [r]; but they never drink of it, however thirſty, nor does the ſhepherd ever lead his flocks to its banks. Its water, though limpid and without odour, is mortal to all living creatures; they drop dead as ſoon as they have taſted it. It diſſolves every kind of metal, and breaks every veſſel which receives it, except thoſe made of the hoof of certain animals [s].

As the Cynætheans were then ravaging that country, we could not go thither to aſcertain the truth of theſe reports. But having met on our road two deputies from a city of Achaia, who were journeying towards Pheneos, and who had more than once paſſed along that river, we enquired of

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[q] Eudox. ap. Steph. in Ἀζᾶν. Id. ap. Plin. lib. 31, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 549. Vitruv. lib. 8, cap. 3, p. 164.

[r] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 74.

[s] Vitruv. lib. 8, cap. 3, p. 163. Var. ap. Solin. cap. 7. Senec. Quæſt. Natur. lib. 3, cap. 25. Plin. lib. 2, cap. 103, t. i. p. 121; lib. 30, cap. 16, t. ii. p. 543; lib. 31, p. 550. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 18, p. 635. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 301; t. ii. p. 718; t. iii. p. 1667.

them; and concluded from their anſwers that the greater part of the prodigies attributed to this famous ſtream would diſappear on the ſlighteſt examination.

Theſe were intelligent and well informed perſons, and we put to them ſeveral other queſtions. They ſhewed us, toward the north-eaſt, Mount Cyllene, which lifts its majeſtic head above all the mountains of Arcadia[t], and whoſe perpendicular height may be eſtimated at fifteen or twenty ſtadia[u]. This is the only part of Greece in which is found a ſpecies of white blackbirds[x]. Mount Cyllene joins to Mount Stymphalus, at the foot of which we find a city, a lake, and a river of the ſame name. The city was formerly one of the moſt flouriſhing in Arcadia[y]. The river riſes out of the lake, and, after having begun its courſe in this province, diſappears, and terminates it under another name, in Argolis[z]. In our time Iphicrates, at the head of the Athenian troops, formed a deſign to dam up every outlet of the river, that, its waters returning upon the lake, and thence inundating the city which he ineffectually beſieged, the inhabitants might be compelled to ſurrender

[t] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 17, p. 633.
[u] Strab. lib. 8, p. 388.
[x] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9, cap. 19, t. i. p. 934.
[y] Pind. Olymp. 6, v. 169.
[z] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 76. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 365. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 24, p. 166; lib. 8, cap. 22, p. 640.

at diſcretion; but, after great labour, he was obliged to abandon his project [a].

According to an ancient tradition, this lake was formerly covered with voracious birds, which infeſted the country. Hercules killed them with his arrows, or drove them away by the ſound of certain inſtruments [b]. This exploit did honour to the hero, and beſtowed celebrity on the lake. The birds returned no more, but they are ſtill repreſented on the money of Stymphalus [c]. Such were the accounts given us by our travelling companions.

The city of Pheneos, though one of the principal in Arcadia, contains nothing remarkable; but the neighbouring plain preſented to our curioſity one of the fineſt works of antiquity. Its date cannot be preciſely aſcertained; we only know that, in very remote ages, the torrents that ruſh from the mountains, by which the city is ſurrounded, entirely overwhelmed and deſtroyed the ancient Pheneos [d]; and that, to prevent a ſimilar calamity from again happening, a canal was dug in the plain fifty ſtadia * in length, thirty feet † deep,

[a] Strab. lib. 8, p. 389.

[b] Apollon. Argon. lib. 8, v. 1057. Schol. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 22, p. 640. Strab. lib. 8, p. 371.

[c] Coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

[d] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 14, p. 627.

* Near three leagues.

† A little more than twenty-eight French (or near thirty Engliſh) feet.

and of proportionable breadth. It was intended to receive the waters of the river Olbius, and thoſe of any extraordinary fall of rain. They were conducted to two caverns, which ſtill ſubſiſt at the foot of the two mountains, under which nature has opened for them ſecret paſſages.

Theſe labours, which are attributed to Hercules, would appear to more advantage in the hiſtory of that hero, than his combat with the fabulous birds of Stymphalus. However this may be, the canal was gradually neglected [e]; and an earthquake having filled up the ſubterraneous paſſages by which the waters were carried off [f], the inhabitants took refuge on the eminences, where they conſtructed wooden bridges to maintain a communication with each other, and as the inundation increaſed from day to day, they were obliged ſucceſſively to erect other bridges higher than the former [g].

Some time afterward [h] the waters opened themſelves a paſſage under ground through the obſtacles by which their courſe was ſtopped, and carried conſternation through ſeveral provinces. The Ladon, that beautiful and peaceful river of which I have ſpoken, and which had ceaſed to flow ſince the obſtruction of the ſubterranean channels [i], had

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[e] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 14, p. 628.
[f] Strab. lib. 8, p. 389.
[g] Theophraſt. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 552.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 117.
[i] Strab. lib. 1, p. 60.

precipitated itſelf in impetuous torrents into the Alpheus, and inundated the territory of Olympia [k]. At Pheneos it was obſerved as a ſingularity, that the deal of which the bridges had been made, after it had been ſtripped of its bark, had not rotted [l].

From Pheneos we proceeded to Caphyæ, where we were ſhewn, near a fountain, an old plane-tree which bears the name of Menelaus, and which that prince is ſaid to have planted himſelf before he went to the ſiege of Troy [m]. In a neighbouring village we ſaw a ſacred grove, and a temple dedicated to Diana *the Strangled* [n]. A reſpectable old man informed us of the origin of this ſtrange epithet. Some children, ſaid he, playing near the temple, found a cord, and having put it about the ſtatue dragged it along, crying out, laughing, We ſtrangle the goddeſs. Some men, paſſing by at the time, felt ſuch indignation at this ſight that they killed the children with ſtones. They imagined that they avenged the gods, but the gods avenged innocence. We experienced their anger; and the oracle being conſulted, commanded us to erect a tomb to theſe unhappy victims, and annually to render them funeral honours [o].

Farther on we paſſed by the ſide of a large

[k] Eratoſth. ap. Strab. lib. 8, p. 389.
[l] Theophraſt. lib. 5, cap. 5, p. 522.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 23, p. 643.
[n] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 32.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 23, p. 643.

cauſeway, which the inhabitants of Caphyæ have conſtructed to defend themſelves from a torrent and a lake which are in the territory of Orchomenus [p]. The latter city is ſituated on a mountain: we took a tranſient view of it; and were ſhewn mirrors made of a blackiſh ſtone found in the environs [q]. We afterwards took one of the roads that led to Mantinea [r].

Our guides ſtopped before a ſmall hill, which is ſhewn to ſtrangers; and ſome Mantineans, who were walking in the environs, ſaid to us: You have heard of Penelope, her griefs, her tears, and eſpecially her fidelity; learn that ſhe conſoled herſelf for the abſence of her huſband with thoſe lovers whom ſhe had attracted to her, that Ulyſſes on his return drove her from his houſe, and that ſhe here ended her days. This is her tomb [s]. Seeing us appear aſtoniſhed, they added: You would have met with what is no leſs extraordinary on the other road. You would have ſeen, on the brow of a hill, a temple of Diana, in which is annually celebrated the feſtival of the goddeſs. It is common to the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Mantinea; the one maintain a prieſt, and the other a prieſteſs, whoſe miniſtry is for life. Both are

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[p] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 23, p. 642.
[q] Plin. lib. 37, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 779.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 12, p. 624.
[s] Id. ibid.

obliged to obſerve the moſt auſtere regimen. They may make no viſit. The uſe of the bath and the moſt innocent comforts of life are forbidden them. They are alone, and have no avocations, yet are not the leſs reſtricted to the moſt rigid continence [t].

Mantinea, formerly founded by the inhabitants of four or five of the neighbouring hamlets [u], is diſtinguiſhed by its populouſneſs, its riches, and the monuments by which it is decorated [x]. It poſſeſſes fertile fields [y], and from it depart a conſiderable number of roads which lead to the principal towns of Arcadia [z]. Among thoſe into Argolis, there is one called the Road of the Ladder, becauſe ſteps have been cut over a high mountain for the convenience of foot paſſengers [a].

The inhabitants of Mantinea, it is ſaid, were the firſt who in their exerciſes combated body to body [b]. They were alſo the firſt who wore a military dreſs, and made uſe of a kind of armour which has taken its name from their city [c]. They have always been conſidered as the braveſt of all the Arcadians [d]. When, in the time of the Perſian

[t] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 13, p. 625.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 553. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 331. Strab. lib. 8, p. 337.
[x] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 9, p. 616.
[y] Xenoph. ibid. p. 552.
[z] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 10, p. 618.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 6, p. 610.
[b] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 13, p. 154.
[c] Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 4, cap. 13, p. 154.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 336.

war, they did not arrive at Platæa till after the battle, they teſtified the greateſt regret, and, to puniſh themſelves, would purſue into Theſſaly a body of the Perſians which had fled, and, on their return home, baniſhed their generals, by whoſe delays they had been deprived of the honour of fighting [e]. In the wars which have ſince happened, the Lacedæmonians dreaded them when enemies, and eſteemed themſelves fortunate when they could obtain their alliance [f]. United by turns with Athens, with Sparta, and other foreign powers, they have been ſeen to extend their dominion over almoſt the whole province [g], and afterwards to be unable to defend their own frontiers.

A ſhort time before the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians beſieged Mantinea; and, as the ſiege continued a long time, they turned againſt the brick walls, by which the city was defended, the river which flows in the environs. The walls were thrown down, the city almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and the inhabitants diſperſed in the villages which they had formerly occupied [h]. Mantinea ſoon after aroſe from her ruins with new ſplendour, and did not bluſh to unite with Lacedæmon,

[e] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 76.
[f] Diod. Sic. ibid.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 29.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 552. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 331 et 336. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 8, p. 615.

and to declare againſt Epaminondas, to whom in part ſhe had owed her liberty [i]. Since that time this city has never ceaſed to be agitated by foreign wars, or diſtracted by inteſtine factions. Such, indeed, in theſe latter times, has been the fate of almoſt all the cities of Greece, eſpecially thoſe in which the people exerciſe the ſupreme power.

This form of government has always ſubſiſted at Mantinea; the firſt legiſlators modified it to prevent the dangers to which it is expoſed. All the citizens have the right to give their opinion and vote in the general aſſembly, but only a ſmall number may be appointed to the offices of magiſtracy [k]. The other parts of the conſtitution were regulated with ſo much wiſdom, that it is ſtill cited as a model [l]. At preſent the demiurgi, or tribunes of the people, exerciſe the principal functions, and ſign their names to the public acts before the ſenators and the other magiſtrates [m].

At Mantinea we became acquainted with an Arcadian named Antiochus, who ſome years before had been one of the deputies which ſeveral cities of Greece had ſent to the king of Perſia to diſcuſs in his preſence their mutual intereſts. Antiochus ſpoke in the name of his nation, and was

[i] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 602. Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 8, p. 615.
[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 416.
[l] Polyb. lib. 6, p. 487. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 22.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 47.

not well received; when he returned he thus addreſſed the aſſembly of the ten thouſand: I have ſeen in the palace of Artaxerxes a great number of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters; I have ſought in his empire for ſoldiers which might oppoſe ours, but have found none. All that is ſaid of his riches is mere boaſting, as you may judge from the golden plane-tree of which ſo much has been ſaid; it is ſo ſmall that its ſhadow would not be ſufficient to cover a graſshopper [n].

As we went from Mantinea to Tegea we had on our right Mount Mænalus, and, on our left, an extenſive foreſt [o], in the plain between which was fought, ſome years ſince, that battle in which Epaminondas gained the victory and loſt his life. Two monuments have been raiſed to him, a trophy [p] and a tomb [q]. They are near to each other, as if their places had been aſſigned them by philoſophy.

The tomb of Epaminondas conſiſts of a ſimple column, on which is ſuſpended a buckler; that buckler which I had ſo often ſeen in his chamber, over his bed, upon the wall, or above the ſeat in which the hero uſually ſat. Theſe local circumſtances ſuddenly recurring to my mind, with the

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[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 621.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 11, p. 629.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 396.
[q] Pauſan. ibid. p. 622.

remembrance of his virtues, his benevolence, of an expreſſion which he had uſed on ſuch an occaſion, a ſmile which had eſcaped him on ſuch another, and a thouſand minute particulars with which grief loves to nouriſh its melancholy, and all combining with the inſupportable idea, that of this great man now only remained a heap of dry bones which the earth inceſſantly corroded, I was ſeized with an emotion ſo violent and painful that I was forced to tear myſelf from an object which I could neither look on nor leave. I was then alive to ſenſibility, but now am ſo no longer, as the feebleneſs of my language too plainly evinces.

I ſhall at leaſt have the conſolation here to add a new ray to the glory of this great man. Three cities diſpute the trifling honour of having given birth to the ſoldier from whom he received his mortal wound. The Athenians aſſert that he fell by the hand of Gryllus the ſon of Xenophon, and have required that the painter Euphranor in one of his pictures ſhould adopt their opinion [r]. According to the Mantineans, he was killed by Machærion, a countryman of theirs [s]; and according to the Lacedæmonians, by the Spartan Anticrates, to whoſe poſterity they even granted honours and exemptions [t]: extravagant diſtinctions, which

[r] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 11, p. 621; lib. 9, cap. 15, p. 741.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 621.
[t] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.

ſufficiently prove how much they were in fear of Epaminondas.

Tegea is only about an hundred ſtadia from Mantinea *. Theſe two cities, rivals and enemies from their proximity [u], have more than once engaged in bloody diſputes [x]; and, in the wars which have divided nations, have almoſt always taken different ſides [y]. At the battle of Platæa, which terminated the great quarrel between Greece and Perſia, the Tegeatæ, who amounted to the number of fifteen hundred [z], diſputed with the Athenians the honour of commanding one of the wings of the Grecian army [a]. They did not obtain their claim to be allowed, but they proved that they deſerved it by the moſt gallant behaviour [b].

Each city in Greece is under the ſpecial protection of a divinity. Tegea has choſen for its tutelary deity Minerva, ſurnamed Alea. The ancient temple having been burnt a few years after the Peloponneſian war, a new one was built, after the deſigns and under the direction of Scopas of Paros, the ſame artiſt who has produced ſo many noble ſtatues. He employed the Ionic order in

* About three leagues and three quarters.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 62 et 65.
[x] Id. lib. 4, p. 134.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 391.
[z] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 28 et 29.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 70.

the periſtyles which ſurround the temple. On the pediment in front he has repreſented the hunting of the wild boar of Calydon; it contains a number of figures, among others thoſe of Hercules, Theſeus, Perithous, and Caſtor. The ſubject on the other pediment is the combat of Achilles and Telephus. The temple is divided into three aiſles by two ranges of columns, of the Doric order, above which is another of the Corinthian, which riſe to and ſupport the roof [c].

To the walls are ſuſpended chains which, in ſome of their ancient expeditions, the Lacedæmonians had prepared for the Tegeatæ, but with which they were themſelves loaded [d]. It is ſaid that in the battle the women of Tegea, having placed themſelves in ambuſcade, fell upon the enemy, and decided the victory. A widow named Marpeſſa diſtinguiſhed herſelf in ſuch a manner on this occaſion that her armour is ſtill preſerved in the temple [e]. Cloſe to it are ſeen the tuſks and ſkin of the Calydonian boar, which were allotted to the beautiful Atlanta of Tegea, who gave the ferocious animal the firſt wound [f]. Laſtly, we were ſhewn a brazen manger, which the Tegeatæ, after the battle of Platæa, carried off from the

[c] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 45, p. 698.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 66.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 47, p. 695; cap. 48, p. 697.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 45, 46, et 47.

ſtables of the general of the Perſians [g]. Such ſpoils gratify the vanity of a people, and ſometimes act as motives to emulation.

In this temple, which is the moſt beautiful of any in Peloponneſus [h], a young girl officiates as prieſteſs, who reſigns her ſacred functions as ſoon as ſhe arrives at the age of puberty [i].

We ſaw another temple, into which the prieſt only enters once in the year [k]; and in the forum remarked two great columns, the one of which ſupports the ſtatues of the legiſlators of Tegea, and the other the equeſtrian ſtatue of a private individual who gained the prize of the horſe races at the Olympic games [l]. The inhabitants have decreed them all the ſame honours, but we ſurely ought not to believe that they hold them in the ſame eſteem.

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[g] Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 70.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 45, p. 693.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 47, p. 695.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 48, p. 696.
[l] Id. ibid.

CHAP. LIII.

Journey through Argolis *.

FROM Tegea we entered Argolis by a defile which paſſes between ſome high mountains [m]. As we approached the ſea, we ſaw the marſh of Lerna, formerly the haunt of that monſtrous hydra which Hercules ſlew. From thence we took the road to Argos, through a beautiful meadow [n].

Argolis, as well as Arcadia, is interſected with hills and mountains, which have valleys and fertile plains in the intervals between them. Theſe admirable irregularities no longer excited our ſurpriſe, but our attention was greatly intereſted from another motive. This province was the cradle of the Greeks, ſince it firſt received the foreign colonies by whom they were civiliſed [o]. It became the theatre of the greater part of events recorded in the ancient annals of Greece. There was it that Inachus appeared, who gave his name

* See the map of Argolis.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 6, p. 610.
[n] Fourm. Voyag. Manuſcr. de l'Argolide.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 24.

to the river which waters the territory of Argos; there alſo lived Danaus, Hypermneſtra, Lynceus, Alcmæon, Perſeus, Amphitryon, Pelops, Atreus, Thyeſtes, Agamemnon, and ſo many other celebrated heroes and heroines.

Their names, which have been ſo often read with delight in the writings of the poets, and heard with ecſtacy from the ſtage, make the ſtronger impreſſion on the mind, as the heroes themſelves ſeem again to live in the feſtivals and monuments conſecrated to their memory. The view of the places which were the ſcenes of their illuſtrious deeds, carries us back to the times in which they lived, realiſes fiction, and gives animation to the moſt inſenſible objects. At Argos, amid the ruins of a ſubterranean palace, in which it is ſaid king Acriſius confined his daughter Danae [p], I ſeemed to myſelf to hear the complaints of that unhappy princeſs. On the road from Hermione to Trœzen, I imagined that I beheld Theſeus raiſing the enormous rock beneath which were depoſited the ſword and other tokens by which he was to be recogniſed by his father [q]. Theſe illuſions are a homage which we render to celebrity, and give new force to the imagination, which has more frequently need of ſuch ſupports than reaſon.

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[p] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 23, p. 164. Apollod. lib. 2, p. 89.

[q] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3. Pauſan. lib. 1, cap. 27, p. 66; lib. 2, p. 188 et 192.

Argos is ſituated at the foot of a hill, on which ſtands the citadel[r]. It is one of the moſt ancient cities of Greece[s], and from the earlieſt ages poſſeſſed ſuch power and ſplendour that its name was ſometimes given to the province, to the whole of Peloponneſus, and even to all Greece[t]. The houſe of the Pelopidæ having eſtabliſhed itſelf at Mycenæ, that city eclipſed the glory of her rival[u]. Agamemnon reigned in the former city, and Diomedes and Sthenelus in the latter[x]. Some time after, Argos regained its rank[y], which it never afterwards loſt.

The ſovereign power was at firſt confided to kings who oppreſſed their ſubjects, and who were ſoon only left in poſſeſſion of that title which they had abuſed[z].

The title itſelf was afterwards aboliſhed, and a democracy has ſubſiſted ever ſince[a]. The affairs of the ſtate are diſcuſſed in a ſenate, before they are ſubmitted to the deciſion of the people[b]; but as the ſenate cannot take on itſelf the executive power, eighty of its members continually

[r] Strab. lib. 8, p. 370. Liv. lib. 32, cap. 25.
[s] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 1, p. 24.
[t] Strab. lib. 8, p. 369. Schol. Pind. in Iſthm. od. 2, v. 17. Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 272. Apollod. lib. 2, p. 75.
[u] Strab. ibid. p, 372.
[x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 564.
[y] Strab. ibid.
[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 19, p. 152.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 28, 31, et 41.
[b] Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 148. Thucyd. ibid. cap. 37.

watch over the ſafety of the ſtate, with nearly the ſame functions as the prytanes of Athens[c]. More than once, and even in our time, the principal citizens, ſupported by their orators, or by the Lacedæmonians, have endeavoured to free themſelves from the tyranny of the multitude by eſtabliſhing an oligarchy; but theſe attempts have anſwered no other purpoſe than to occaſion an effuſion of blood[d].

The Argives are renowned for their bravery; they have had frequent diſputes with the neighbouring nations, and have never feared to enter the liſts with the Lacedæmonians[e], who have often ſought their alliance[f].

We have already ſaid, that the firſt period of their hiſtory is reſplendent with illuſtrious names and ſhining achievements. In the latter, after they had conceived the hope of obtaining the ſovereignty of all Peloponneſus[g], they became enfeebled by unfortunate expeditions and inteſtine diſſenſions.

Like the Arcadians, they have neglected the ſciences and cultivated the arts. Before the expedition of Xerxes, they were more verſed in muſic

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[c] Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 47. Diod. Sic. lib. 19, p. 704.
[d] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 76, 81, 82. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 127; lib. 15, p. 372.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 77.
[f] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 36.
[g] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 28. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 123.

than the other people of Greece[h]. They were for ſome time ſo much attached to its ancient ſimplicity, that they impoſed a fine on a muſician who had dared to preſent himſelf to the competition with a lyre having more than ſeven ſtrings, and to perform in modes which they had not adopted[i]. Among the muſicians born in this province, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were Laſus[k], Sacadas[l], and Ariſtonicus[m]; among the ſculptors, Ageladas[n] and Polycletus[o]; among the poets, Teleſilla.

The three former contributed greatly to the progreſs and improvement of muſic, as did Ageladas and Polycletus to that of ſculpture. The latter, who lived about the time of Pericles, has filled Peloponneſus and all Greece with his immortal works. In adding new beauties to human nature, he ſurpaſſed Phidias; but in preſenting to us the image of divinity, he never roſe to the ſublimity of the ideas of his rival[p]. He choſe his models from youth and infancy, but old age ſeemed to embarraſs thoſe hands which were accuſtomed to repreſent the graces. This ſpecies of compoſition accommodates itſelf ſo eaſily to a

[h] Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 131.
[i] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1144.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 1141.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 1134.
[m] Athen. lib. 14, p. 637.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 6, cap. 8, p. 472; cap. 14, p. 487.
[o] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 311. Anthol. Græc. lib. 4, p. 333.
[p] Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. 12, cap. 10, p. 744.

certain negligence, that Polycletus merits peculiar praiſe for having rigorouſly confined himſelf to correctneſs of deſign. In fact, there is a figure by him, in which the proportions of the human body are ſo accurately obſerved, that it has been called the canon or rule [q] by the unanimous conſent of artiſts, who ſtudy it whenever they have to repreſent the ſame nature in the ſame circumſtances, for it is impoſſible to form a ſingle model which ſhall ſuit all ages, ſexes, and characters [r]. If Polycletus be charged with ſome errors, it may be ſaid in reply, that if he did not attain, he at leaſt approached near to, perfection [s]. He himſelf ſeems to have doubted his own ſucceſs. At a time when other artiſts inſcribed on their works, *Such a one has made it*, he contented himſelf with writing on his, *Polycletus made it* *, as if to finiſh what he had begun he waited the judgment of the public [t].

He liſtened to advice, and knew how to appreciate its value. He made two ſtatues of the ſame

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[q] Plin. lib. 34, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 650. Jun. de Pict. p. 168.

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 303. Œuvr. de Falconn. t. iii. p. 87.

[s] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 18, t. i. p. 351.

* The turn of expreſſion in the two Greek words here intended (Πεποίηκε and Ἐποίει or Ἐποίησε), cannot be ſatisfactorily preſerved in Engliſh, nor perhaps in any of the modern European languages. The former, in the perfect tenſe, ſignifies, in grammatical ſtrictneſs, that the work was finiſhed and perfected; the latter, in the imperfect, that it was begun, but not completed. T.

[t] Plin. lib. 1, t. i. p. 5.

ſubject, on one of which he worked in private, conſulting only his own genius, and the rules of his art which he had carefully conſidered; the other he ſculptured in his ſhop, into which every one who choſe might enter, correcting and amending it according to the opinion of as many as were pleaſed to beſtow their advice. As ſoon as both were finiſhed he exhibited them to the public. The firſt was received with univerſal admiration; but at the ſecond every body laughed aloud; upon which he ſaid, That you laugh at, is your work, the other is mine [u]. Another anecdote will prove to what celebrity he had attained in his life-time. Hipponicus, one of the principal citizens of Athens, intending to conſecrate a ſtatue to his country, was adviſed to employ the chiſel of Polycletus. No, replied he, the honour of my offering would then be wholly engroſſed by the artiſt [x]. We ſhall ſee below that his fertile genius employed itſelf with no leſs ſucceſs in architecture.

Teleſilla, who flouriſhed about a hundred and fifty years ago, rendered her country illuſtrious by her writings, and ſaved it by her courage. The city of Argos was on the point of falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. It had loſt ſix thouſand men, among which was the flower of its

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[u] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14, cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 16.

youth [y]. Teleſilla collected the women moſt proper to ſecond her deſigns, furniſhed them with arms, which ſhe procured from the temples or from the houſes of individuals, placed herſelf with them on the walls, and repulſed the enemy, who, through fear of being reproached either with defeat or victory, retired from before the city [z].

The moſt ſignal honours were rendered to theſe female warriors. Thoſe who fell in the battle were buried by the ſide of the road to Argos; others were permitted to erect a ſtatue to the god Mars [a]. The figure of Teleſilla was placed on a column, in front of the temple of Venus. Far from deigning to caſt her eyes on the volumes repreſented at her feet, ſhe appears to fix them with complacence on a helmet which ſhe holds in her hand, and is about to put upon her head [b]. Laſtly, to perpetuate the remembrance of ſo extraordinary an event, an annual feſtival was inſtituted, in which the women wear the habit of men, and the men the dreſs of women [c].

In this city, as in all the others of Greece, the productions of the arts are very common, but their

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[y] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 76; lib. 7, cap. 148.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 157. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 7, cap. 33. Lucian. in Amor. t. ii. p. 431. Clemen. Alex. Strom. lib. 4, p. 618. Suid. in Τελεσίλ.

[a] Plut. de Virt. Mul. t. ii. p. 245.

[b] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 157.

[c] Plut. ibid. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 8, cap. 33.

maſterpieces extremely rare. Among the latter it may ſuffice to name ſeveral ſtatues by Polycletus and Praxiteles [d]. The following objects engaged our attention from other reaſons.

We ſaw the tomb of a daughter of Perſeus, who, after the death of her firſt huſband, married Œbalus, king of Sparta. The Argive women before that time had never dared to contract a ſecond marriage [e]. This event is of the higheſt antiquity.

We ſaw a group, repreſenting Perilaus of Argos about to put to death the Spartan Othryadas [f]. The Lacedæmonians and Argives diſputed the poſſeſſion of the city of Thyrea. It was agreed that each ſtate ſhould name three hundred warriors, by a combat between whom their differences ſhould be finally decided. They all fell, except two Argives, who, thinking themſelves inconteſtably victors, haſtened to carry the news to the magiſtrates of Argos. Othryadas however ſtill breathed, and, notwithſtanding his mortal wounds, had ſtrength enough left to erect a trophy on the field of battle, on which he traced with his blood theſe words, "The Lacedæmonians conquerors of the Argives;" and then haſtened his own death,

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 154; cap. 21, p. 160.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 21, p. 159.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 156.

that he might not longer ſurvive his companions [g].

The Argives are perſuaded that Apollo manifeſts future events in one of his temples. Once a month the prieſteſs, who muſt obſerve the ſtricteſt continence, ſacrifices a ſheep during the night, and, as ſoon as ſhe has taſted of the blood of the victim, is inſpired with the ſpirit of propheſy [h].

We ſaw the women of Argos aſſemble during ſeveral ſucceſſive days in a kind of chapel, adjoining to the temple of Jupiter Saviour [i], to weep for Adonis. I could have wiſhed to have ſaid to them what philoſophers have remarked on ſimilar occaſions: "Why ſhould you weep for him if he is a god, or offer ſacrifices to him if he is not [k]?"

At the diſtance of forty ſtadia * from Argos [l] is the temple of Juno, one of the moſt celebrated in Greece [m], formerly common to that city and Mycenæ [n]. The old one was burnt not a century ſince by the negligence of the prieſteſs Chryſis, who had forgotten to extinguiſh a lamp placed in

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 156. Chryſerm. ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 306. Suid. in Ὀθρυάδ. Stat. Theb. lib. 4, v. 48. Lact. ibid. Stob. Serm. 7, p. 92.

[h] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 24, p. 165.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 20, p. 156.

[k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Id. in Iſid. p. 379.

* About a league and a half.

[l] Strab. lib. 8, p. 368.

[m] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 147.

[n] Strab. lib. 8, p. 372.

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the midſt of the ſacred fillets[o]. The new one, built at the foot of Mount Eubœa, atteſts the progreſs of the arts, and will eternize the name of the architect Eupolemus of Argos[p].

That of Polycletus will be ſtill more celebrated from the works with which he has decorated this temple[q], and eſpecially the ſtatue of Juno, of almoſt coloſſal ſize. The goddeſs appears ſeated on a throne with a crown on her head, on which are engraven the Hours and the Graces. She holds in her right hand a pomegranate; a myſterious ſymbol which is not explained to the profane: in her left is a ſceptre, on the top of which is the figure of a cuckoo, a ſingular attribute that has given birth to many puerile ſtories. While we were admiring the workmanſhip, worthy of the rival of Phidias, and the richneſs of the materials, which are of gold and ivory, Philotas ſhewed me, laughing, a misſhapen figure, in a ſitting poſture, made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and covered with duſt. That, ſaid he, is the moſt ancient ſtatue of Juno[r]; after having long received the worſhip of mortals, it experiences the lot of old age and poverty: it is thrown into a corner of the temple, where no one addreſſes to it either prayers or vows.

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[o] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 133. Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 148.
[p] Pauſan. ibid. p. 147.
[q] Strab. lib. 8, p. 372.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 148.

The magiſtrates of Argos repair to the altar of this temple to bind themſelves by oath to obſerve their treaties of peace; but ſtrangers are not permitted to offer ſacrifices on it [s].

The temple, from its foundation, has been ſerved by a prieſteſs, who is obliged among other things to abſtain from certain fiſh [t]. A ſtatue is erected to her during her life-time [u]; and after her death her name, and the time during which ſhe exerciſed the prieſthood, is inſcribed on it. This range of ſtatues, placed in the front of the temple, with thoſe of different heroes [x], furniſhes a ſucceſſion of dates which hiſtorians ſometimes employ to aſcertain and fix the order of time [y].

In the liſt of the prieſteſſes we found ſeveral illuſtrious names, as thoſe of Hypermneſtra, daughter of Danaus; Admeta, daughter of king Euryſtheus [z]; and Cydippe, who owed her glory leſs to her anceſtors than to her children. They related to us her hiſtory during the celebration of the feſtival of Juno. The day of that feſtival, which aſſembles together an innumerable concourſe of ſpectators, is eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by a ſolemn

[s] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 81.
[t] Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 149.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 148.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 2. Schol. ibid. Hellan. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. 1, t. i. p. 181. Excerpt. Polyb. p. 50. Meurſ. de Archont. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 6.
[z] Marſh. Chron. Can. p. 127. Freret, Defenſ. de la Chronol. p. 75.

proceſſion, that proceeds from Argos to the temple of the goddeſs. It opens with a hundred oxen, adorned with garlands, which are to be ſacrificed, and diſtributed to the people[a]. A body of youthful Argives march as guards, in ſhining armour, which they put off from reſpect before they approach the altar[b]; and the proceſſion is cloſed by the prieſteſs, who appears in a chariot drawn by two beautiful white oxen[c]. It happened, when Cydippe was prieſteſs, that when the proceſſion had filed off, the oxen had not yet arrived; upon which Biton and Cleobis yoked themſelves to the chariot of their mother, and drew her in triumph, the diſtance of forty-five ſtadia*, through the plain, and to near the middle of the mountain, to the place where the temple then ſtood[c]. Cydippe arrived there amid the ſhouts and plaudits of the people; and in the tranſports of her joy ſupplicated the goddeſs to grant to her ſons the greateſt good which could be beſtowed on mortals. Her prayers, it is ſaid, were heard; a gentle ſleep fell on the two youths, in the temple itſelf; and they tranquilly paſſed from life to death[c]: as if the

[a] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 7, v. 152.
[b] Æneas Poliorc. cap. 17, p. 13.
[c] Palæphat. de Incredib. cap. 51.
* About a league and three quarters.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 17, p. 148.
[e] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 31. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1, cap. 47, t. ii. p. 273. Valer. Maxim. lib. 5, cap. 4, extern. 4. Stob. Serm. 169, p. 603. Serv. et Philarg. in Virg. Georg. lib. 3, v. 532.

greateſt bleſſing which the gods can grant to man were to ſhorten his days.

Examples of filial piety are certainly not rare in great nations, but the memory of them is preſerved with difficulty in the family in which they have been produced; whereas, in Greece, a whole city appropriates them to itſelf, and eternizes them as no leſs honourable to it than victories over an enemy. The Argives ſent to Delphi the ſtatues of theſe generous brothers [f]; and in one of their temples I have ſeen them repreſented harneſſed to the chariot of their mother [g].

We had ſeen the illuſtrious reward which the Greeks have beſtowed on the virtues of individuals; and we afterwards ſaw, at the diſtance of fifteen ſtadia from the temple [h], to what exceſſes they have been hurried by the jealouſy of power. Some ruins, among which the tombs of Atreus, Agamemnon, Oreſtes, and Electra are with difficulty diſtinguiſhed, are all that remains of the ancient and famous city of Mycenæ, which was deſtroyed by the Argives about a century and a half ago [i]. Its crime was, that it had refuſed to bend beneath the yoke they had impoſed on almoſt all Argolis, and that, in contempt of their commands, it had joined its forces to thoſe which Greece had

[f] Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 31.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 155.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 17, p. 147.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 11, p. 49. Strab. lib. 8, p. 372.

aſſembled againſt the Perſians [k]. The unfortunate inhabitants wandered in different countries, and the greater part only found an aſylum in Macedonia [l].

The hiſtory of Greece preſents us with more than one example of theſe dreadful emigrations, which ought not to excite our ſurpriſe. The greater part of the diſtricts of Greece at firſt contained a number of independent republics, ſome ſubject to ariſtocracy, others governed by a democracy, and all of which eaſily obtained the protection and aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers whoſe intereſt it was to divide them [m]. In vain they endeavoured to unite together, by a general confederation; the moſt powerful, after having ſubjected the weaker, diſputed the ſovereignty with each other, and not unfrequently one among them, raiſing itſelf above the reſt, exerciſed a real deſpotiſm under the ſpecious forms of liberty. Hence thoſe ancient hatreds and national wars which for ſo long a time have laid waſte Theſſaly, Bœotia, Arcadia, and Argolis. Theſe have never deſolated Attica and Laconia; not the former, becauſe its inhabitants live under the ſame laws, like citizens of the ſame city; nor the latter, becauſe the people of that country have been ever

[k] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 16, p. 146.
[l] Id. lib. 7, cap. 25, p. 589.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 35 et 40.

held in ſubjection by the active vigilance of the magiſtrates of Sparta, and the known valour of the Spartans.

I am not ignorant that the infractions of treaties, and offences committed againſt the laws of nations, have been ſometimes brought before the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, inſtituted from the earlieſt ages among the northern ſtates of Greece. I know alſo that many cities of Argolis eſtabliſhed among themſelves a ſimilar tribunal[n]; but theſe councils, which only took cognizance of certain cauſes, either did not extend their juriſdiction over all Greece, or never poſſeſſed ſufficient power to enforce the execution of their decrees.

On our return to Argos we went up to the citadel, where we ſaw, in the temple of Minerva, a ſtatue of Jupiter, which, as we were told, was formerly preſerved in the palace of Priam. It has three eyes, one of which is in the middle of the forehead; either to ſignify that this god reigns equally in the heavens, over the ſea, and in the infernal ſhades[o]; or to denote that he beholds the paſt, the preſent, and the future.

We departed for Tiryns, diſtant from Argos about fifty ſtadia*. Of this very ancient city[p] nothing now remains but the walls, which are

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[n] Strab. lib. 8, p. 374.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 166.
* About two leagues and a half.
[p] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 15, p. 145.

about twenty feet thick [q], and of a proportionable height. They are conſtructed of huge ſtones, laid one upon another; the leaſt of which is of ſuch a prodigious ſize that two mules could ſcarcely draw it. As they are not cut, leſſer ſtones have been employed to fill the interſtices left by the irregularity of their ſhape [r]. Theſe walls have ſubſiſted during a long ſeries of ages, and will, perhaps, excite the admiration and aſtoniſhment of poſterity for thouſands of years to come [s].

The ſame kind of labour may be remarked in the ancient monuments of Argolis, and particularly in the half deſtroyed walls of Mycenæ [t], and the vaſt excavations which are ſeen near the port of Nauplia [u], ſituated at a little diſtance from Tiryns.

All theſe works are attributed to the Cyclops [x], whoſe name naturally awakens ideas of greatneſs; ſince it was given by the moſt ancient poets, ſometimes to giants [y], and ſometimes to thoſe children of heaven and earth who were employed to forge

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[q] Voyag. de Des Mouceaux, p. 473.

[r] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 25, p. 169.

[s] Id. lib. 9, cap. 36, p. 983. Des Mouceaux, ibid.

[t] Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 944. Pauſan. lib. 7, cap. 25, p. 589. Heſych. in Κυκλώπ.

[u] Strab. lib. 8, p. 373.

[x] Eurip. in Oreſt. v. 963; in Iphig. in Aul. v. 152 et 1501; in Elect. v. 1158; in Hercul. Fur. v. 15. Strab. ibid. Pauſan. ibid. Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 286. Stat. Theb. lib. 1, v. 251.

[y] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 9. Bochart. Geograph. Sacr. lib. 1, cap. 30.

the thunderbolts of Jupiter[z]. It was imagined that theſe gigantic conſtructions could not be the work of ordinary mortals. It doubtleſs had not been remarked that men, in the earlieſt ages, when they formed themſelves dwellings, laboured more for ſolidity than elegance; and that they employed the moſt powerful means with which they were acquainted to enſure a long duration to indiſpenſable labours. They hollowed in the rock profound caverns, for a place of refuge during their lives, or to receive their bodies after death. They detached huge fragments from the mountains, and with them ſurrounded their habitations. They thus diſplayed their ſtrength, and triumphed over obſtacles. They then laboured after the plan of nature, all whoſe works are ſimple, neceſſary, and durable. The exact proportions and beautiful forms ſince introduced in the productions of art, make more agreeable, but I doubt whether they leave ſuch profound impreſſions on the mind. Even in thoſe which have moſt claim to public admiration, and raiſe their heads majeſtically above the earth, the hand of art conceals that of nature, and magnificence only is ſubſtituted for grandeur.

We were told at Tiryns that the Argives, exhauſted by long wars, had deſtroyed Tiryns, Midea, Hyſia, and ſome other cities, to remove

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hiſt. p. 28.

their inhabitants to Argos[a]. Philotas regretted that he could not find here any of the ancient Tirynthians; and when I enquired his reaſon, It is not, replied he, becauſe they are as fond of wine as the other inhabitants of this country[b], but becauſe their humour would have amuſed me. I will relate to you what I have heard from an Argive.

They had contracted ſuch a habit of jeſting on every occaſion, that they were no longer able to diſcuſs ſeriouſly the moſt important affairs. Wearied at length with their own levity, they had recourſe to the oracle of Delphi, which aſſured them they would be cured if, after having ſacrificed a bull to Neptune, they ſhould be able, without laughing, to throw it into the ſea. It was manifeſt that the conſtraint impoſed on them would prevent them from being able to comply with the condition required. They however aſſembled on the ſea ſhore, and carefully removed all the children; but as they were endeavouring to drive away one who had privately come in among them, he called out to them, "What, are you afraid I ſhould ſwallow your bull?" On which they all burſt into a loud laugh, and, being perſuaded that their malady was incurable, quietly ſubmitted to their lot[c].

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[a] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 27, p. 653.
[b] Athen. lib. 10, cap. 12, p. 438.
[c] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 6, cap. 17, p. 261. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 18, p. 1839, lin. 47.

We left Tiryns, and, proceeding towards the extremity of Argolis, viſited Hermione and Trœzen. In the former we ſaw, among other things, a ſmall grove conſecrated to the Graces; a temple of Venus, in which all the maidens of the place before they are married muſt offer a ſacrifice[d]; and a temple of Ceres, before which are the ſtatues of ſome of the prieſteſſes. A feſtival is there celebrated in the ſummer, the principal ceremony of which I ſhall briefly deſcribe.

At the head of the proceſſion appear the prieſts of different divinities, and the magiſtrates in office: they are followed by women, men, and children, all clothed in white, crowned with flowers, and ſinging hymns. Next come four heifers, which are driven one after the other into the temple, and ſucceſſively ſacrificed by four matrons. Theſe victims, which at firſt can with difficulty be held, become tame as ſoon as they hear the voice of theſe women, and preſent themſelves of their own accord at the altar. We were not witneſſes of the truth of the latter circumſtance, for the doors are ſhut during the ſacrifice[e].

Behind this edifice there are three places ſurrounded with ſtone baluſtrades. In one of theſe the earth opens and diſcovers a profound abyſs.

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 34, p. 193.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 35, p. 195. Ælian. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 11, cap. 4.

This is one of the mouths of the infernal regions, of which I have ſpoken in my journey through Laconia. The inhabitants of the country ſay that Pluto, when he carried off Proſerpine, choſe to deſcend by this gulf, becauſe it is the ſhorteſt paſſage to his gloomy abode. They add that, on account of their ſituation, they are not required to pay any tribute to Charon, and that therefore they do not put a piece of money into the mouths of their dead, as is practiſed in every other part of Greece[f].

At Trœzen we ſaw with pleaſure the monuments that city contains, and heard with patience the long relations which a people, proud of their origin[g], gave us of their ancient kings, and of the heroes to which their country had given birth. We were ſhewn the ſeat on which Pittheus, the ſon of Pelops, adminiſtered juſtice[h]; the houſe in which Theſeus, his grandſon and pupil, was born[i]; that in which Hippolytus dwelt[k]; and his temple, in which the maidens of Trœzen depoſit their hair before their marriage[l]. The Trœzenians, who pay divine honours to the latter hero, have conſecrated to Venus the place in which Phædra con-

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[f] Strab. lib. 8, p. 373. Callim. ap. Etymol. Magn. in Δαράκ.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 30, p. 181.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 31, p. 184.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 32, p. 188.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 187.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 186.

cealed herſelf to ſee him drive his chariot in the courſe. Some of them affirm that he was not killed by his horſes, but placed among the conſtellations; others ſhewed us the place where he was buried, which is near the tomb of Phædra [m].

We were alſo ſhewn an edifice, in the ſhape of a tent, in which Oreſtes continued while he was purified; and a very ancient altar, on which ſacrifices were offered at once to the Manes and to Sleep, on account of the union between theſe divinities [n]. One part of Trœzen is ſituated on the declivity of a mountain, and the other in a plain, that extends to the port, through which winds the river Chryſorrhoas, and which is ſurrounded on all ſides by hills and mountains, covered to a certain height by vines, olives, pomegranates, and myrtles, above which appear woods of pines and firs that ſeem to raiſe their lofty heads to the clouds [o].

The beauty of this ſcene did not detain us long in that city. At certain ſeaſons the air of it is unwholeſome [p]; its wines are no longer in repute [q], and the water of the holy fountain it poſſeſſes is of a bad quality [r].

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[m] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 32, p. 186 et 187.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 31, p. 184.
[o] Fourmont, Voyag. Manuſcr. de l'Argolide.
[p] Chandl. Trav. in Greece, p. 216.
[q] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 9, cap. 20. Plin. lib. 14, cap. 18, t. i. p. 724.
[r] Vitruv. lib. 8, cap. 3, p. 159. Plin. lib. 31, p. 548.

We proceeded on our journey, along the ſea-coaſt, and arrived at Epidaurus, ſituated at the bottom of a bay [s], in front of the iſland of Ægina, which anciently belonged to it [t]. It was formerly defended by ſtrong walls againſt the attacks of the neighbouring powers [u]. Its territory, which abounds in vineyards [x], is ſurrounded by mountains covered with oaks [y]. Without the walls, at the diſtance of forty ſtadia [z] *, are the temple and ſacred grove of Æſculapius [a], to which ſick perſons reſort from all parts to ſeek a cure for their various diſorders. This ſmall country is governed by a council conſiſting of one hundred and eighty perſons [b].

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the hiſtory of Æſculapius, which is the reaſon ſo many different ſtories are told concerning him. If we may pay any regard to the reports of the people of Epidaurus, a ſhepherd, having loſt his dog and one of his ſhe-goats, found them on a neighbouring mountain, near a child who ſhone with an extraordinary reſplendence, and whom the goat ſuckled and the dog guarded. This child was Æſcula-

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[s] Strab. lib. 8, p. 374.
[t] Herodot. lib. 5, cap. 83.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 2, cap. 56; lib. 5, cap. 55 et 56.
[x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 561.
[y] Strab. ibid. Plin. lib. 4, cap. 5, t. i p. 194.
[z] Liv. lib. 45, cap. 28. Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 8, § 2.
* About a league and a half.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 26 et 27.
[b] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 291.

pius, the ſon of Apollo and Coronis[c]. He dedicated his days to the relief of the unhappy. The moſt dangerous wounds and maladies yielded to his operations, his remedies, his harmonious ſongs, and the magical words that he employed[d]. The gods pardoned him his ſucceſs, but he dared to recall the dead to life, and, on the repreſentation of Pluto, was ſtruck dead with a thunderbolt[e].

Other traditions ſuffer us to perceive ſome glimmerings of the truth, and preſent us with a thread which we will follow for a moment without entangling ourſelves in its windings. The tutor of Achilles, the ſage Chiron, had acquired ſome ſlight acquaintance with the virtues of ſimples, and a ſtill greater knowledge of the method of reducing fractures and luxations. He tranſmitted what he knew to his deſcendants, who ſtill exiſt in Theſſaly, and who have at all times generouſly devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the ſick[f].

It appears that Æſculapius was his diſciple[g], and that having been entruſted with his ſecrets, he taught them to his ſons, Machaon and Podalirius[h], who reigned after his death over a ſmall city in

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[c] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 26, p. 170.
[d] Pind. Pyth. 3, v. 92.
[e] Pind. ibid. v. 10. Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 125. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 408. Diod. Sic. lib. 4, p. 273. Plin. lib. 29, t. ii. p. 493.
[f] Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 30.
[g] Pind. Pyth. 3, v. 80. Id. Nem. 3, v. 94.
[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4, v. 219.

Theſſaly[i]. During the ſiege of Troy they ſignalized their courage in the field of battle[k], and their ſkill in the treatment of wounds[l]; for they had carefully cultivated ſurgery, an eſſential part of medicine, and the only one, apparently, which was known in thoſe remote ages[m]. Machaon having been killed under the walls of Troy, his aſhes were brought by Neſtor to Peloponneſus[n]. His children, who followed the profeſſion of their father, ſettled in this country. They raiſed altars to their grandfather, and merited the ſame honours themſelves by the ſervices which they rendered to the human race[o].

The founder of ſo reſpectable a family ſoon became the object of public veneration, though his advancement to the rank of the gods muſt have been poſterior to the time of Homer, who only ſpeaks of him as a ſimple individual. But at preſent divine honours are every where paid to him. His worſhip has paſſed from Epidaurus to the other cities of Greece, and even to diſtant countries[p]; and cannot but become ſtill more exten-

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[i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2, v. 730. Strab. lib. 8, p. 339; lib. 10, p. 448.

[k] Homer. ibid. lib. 11, v. 832.

[l] Id. ibid. lib. 4, v. 219.

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 405, 406, &c. Celſ. de Re Med. in Præfat.

[n] Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 26, p. 278.

[o] Id. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 136; cap. 23, p. 163.

[p] Id. ibid. cap. 26, p. 171 et 172.

ſive[q], becauſe the ſick will ever implore with confidence the compaſſion of a divinity who was ſubject to like infirmities with themſelves.

The Epidaurians have inſtituted in honour of Æſculapius feſtivals which are annually celebrated, and to which from time to time are added new ſpectacles[r]. Though theſe are moſt magnificent, the temple of the god, the edifices which ſurround it, and the ſcenes which paſs in it, are more proper to gratify the curioſity of the enquiring traveller.

I mean not to ſpeak of thoſe rich preſents which have been depoſited there by the hope and gratitude of the ſick[s]; but the expreſſive words written over the gate of the temple immediately and forcibly arreſt the attention: "Entrance here is only permitted to pure ſouls[t]." The ſtatue of the god, the work of Thraſymedes of Paros, as is ſeen by his name inſcribed on the baſe, is of gold and ivory. Æſculapius appears ſeated on his throne, with a dog at his feet, a ſtaff in one hand, and ſtretching out the other over a ſerpent which ſeems to raiſe itſelf up to reach it. The artiſt has engraven on the throne the exploits of ſome heroes of Argolis; we there ſee the triumph of Bellero-

[q] Liv. Epit. lib. 11. Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 8, § 2. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illuſt. cap. 22. Ovid. Metam. &c.
[r] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530.
[s] Liv. lib. 45, cap. 28.
[t] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5, p. 652. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 19, p. 136.

phon,

phon, and Perſeus cutting off the head of Meduſa [w].

Polycletus, whom no one ever ſurpaſſed in the art of ſculpture, and who has been equalled by few in architecture, erected, in the ſacred grove, an elegant and ſuperb theatre to receive the ſpectators on certain feſtivals [x]. It is built near a marble rotunda, which attracts the eye, and the inſide of which has lately been decorated by the painter Pauſias. In one of his pictures, Love is no longer ſeen with the menacing apparatus of a warrior; he has dropped his bow and his ſhafts, and to triumph only needs the lyre which he holds in his hand. In another, Pauſias has repreſented intoxication under the figure of a woman whoſe features are diſtinguiſhed through a glaſs bottle which ſhe is on the point of emptying [y].

In the environs we ſaw a number of columns, on which were inſcribed not only the names of thoſe who had been cured, but alſo a detail of the means by which they recovered their health [z]. Similar monuments, the regiſters of the experience of ages, would be at all times valuable, but were indiſpenſably neceſſary before there were any writings on medicine. We know that in Egypt the prieſts reſerve in the temples a circumſtantial ac-

[w] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 27, p. 172.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 174.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 173.
[z] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8, p. 374.

count of the cures that have been wrought [a]. In Greece, the prieſts of Æſculapius have introduced this cuſtom, with their other rites, in almoſt every place in which they have been eſtabliſhed [b]. Hippocrates knew the value of this practice, and derived a great part of his doctrine concerning regimen from a ſeries of ancient inſcriptions near the temple which the inhabitants of Cos erected to Æſculapius [c].

Yet it muſt be acknowledged that the prieſts of this god, more deſirous to be thought to work miracles than to effect cures, have but too often recourſe to impoſture to obtain an influence over the minds of the people. They however deſerve praiſe for having placed their temples without the walls of cities, and upon eminences [d]. That of Epidaurus is ſurrounded by a wood, in which no perſon is permitted to die, nor any child to be brought into the world. For to baniſh from theſe places the terrifying image of death, ſick perſons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, are removed from them [e]. A wholeſome air, moderate exerciſe, proper regimen, and ſuitable remedies, are the means which have been

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[a] Galen. de Compoſ. Med. lib. 5, cap. 2, p. 246.
[b] Strab. lib. 8, p. 375. Gruter. Inſcript. t. i. p. 71.
[c] Strab. lib. 14, p. 657. Plin. lib. 29, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 493.
[d] Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 286.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 27, p. 172.

wiſely judged moſt proper to re-eſtabliſh health; but theſe alone are not ſufficient for the views of the prieſts, who, that they may be able to attribute natural effects to preternatural cauſes, add to them a number of ſuperſtitious practices.

Near the temple is a ſpacious hall, in which thoſe who come to conſult Æſculapius, after having depoſited on the holy table ſome cakes, fruits, and other offerings, paſs the night on little beds [f]. One of the prieſts bids them keep a profound ſilence, whatever noiſe they may hear, reſign themſelves to ſleep, and be attentive to the dreams which the god ſhall ſend them [g]. He afterwards extinguiſhes the light, and takes care to collect the offerings with which the table is covered [h]. Some time after the patients imagine they hear the voice of Æſculapius, whether any ſound be conveyed by ſome ingenious artifice, or the prieſt returning into the hall mutters ſome words near their bed; or whether, in fine, in the ſolemn ſtillneſs which ſurrounds them, their imagination realizes the recitals and the objects by which it has never ceaſed to be acted on ſince their arrival at the temple.

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[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 662. Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 27, p. 173. Ariſtid. Orat. t. i. p. 525. Philoſtr. Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1, p. 535. Plaut. in Curcul. act. 1, ſcen. 1, p. 263. Solin. cap. 7.

[g] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 2, cap. 59, t. iii. p. 89.

[h] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 676.

The divine voice preſcribes to them remedies proper to effect their cure, and which are much the ſame with thoſe of other phyſicians [i]. It enjoins them at the ſame time to perform certain religious ceremonies, as neceſſary to enſure their ſucceſs. If the patient's complaint be only of the number of imaginary diſorders, and he is judged a proper inſtrument for pious fraud, he is commanded to preſent himſelf, the next day, in the temple; to paſs from one ſide of the altar to the other; and to lay his hand firſt on the altar and afterward on the ſuffering part, and publicly declare his cure, in the preſence of a great number of ſpectators, whom this prodigy cannot fail to inſpire with new enthuſiaſm [k]. Sometimes, to ſave the honour of Æſculapius, the ſick perſons are directed to go and perform ſimilar injunctions at ſome diſtant place [l]. At other times they receive the viſit of the god diſguiſed under the form of a great ſerpent, the careſſes of which reanimate them with new hope [m].

Serpents in general are conſecrated to this god, either becauſe the greater part of them have properties uſeful in medicine [n], or for other reaſons

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[i] Le Clerc. Hiſt. de la Med. liv. 1, chap. 20, p. 60.
[k] Gruter. Inſcript. t. i. p. 71.
[l] Ariſtid. Orat. t. i. p. 516 et 549.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 688.
[n] Plin. lib. 29, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 505.

which it would be uſeleſs to enumerate; but Æſculapius appears to have had a particular predilection for thoſe found in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus, which are of a colour approaching to a yellow [o], have no poiſon, are tame and gentle, and love to live in familiarity with man. That which the prieſts keep in the temple, will ſometimes wind round their bodies, or raiſe himſelf on his tail to take the food which they preſent him on a plate [p]. He is rarely ſuffered to go out; but when this liberty is permitted him, he walks majeſtically through the ſtreets, and as his appearance is deemed a happy omen, it excites univerſal joy [q]. Some revere him, becauſe he is under the protection of the tutelary divinity of the place; and others proſtrate themſelves before him, becauſe they confound him with the god himſelf.

Theſe familiar ſerpents are found in the other temples of Æſculapius [r], as alſo in thoſe of Bacchus [s], and ſome other divinities. They are very common at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. The women there keep them for their amuſement. In the great heats of ſummer, they wind them round their necks, like necklaces; and in their orgies wear them as ornaments, or ſhake them on their

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[o] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 28, p. 175.
[p] See coins in the cabinet of the king of France.
[q] Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 8, § 2.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 11, p. 137.
[s] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 690.

heads. During my ſtay in Greece, it was ſaid that Olympias, queen of Philip king of Macedon, had one of them which ſhe frequently took to bed with her, and it was even added that Jupiter had taken the form of that animal, and that Alexander was his ſon [t].

The Epidaurians are very credulous, and the generality of ſick perſons much more ſo. They repair in crowds to Epidaurus, and ſubmit with implicit reſignation to remedies from which they have never before received any benefit, and which their firm confidence ſometimes renders more efficacious. The greater part related to me with a lively faith the dreams with which they had been honoured by the god. Some were ſo ſimple that they were highly offended at every attempt to reaſon with them, and others ſo timid, that no arguments could for a moment divert their attention from their complaints. All of them related inſtances of cures, into the truth of which they had never examined, but which received additional confirmation by paſſing from mouth to mouth.

We returned to Argos, and took the road to Nemea, a city famous for the ſolemn games celebrated there, every third year, in honour of Jupiter. As they are nearly the ſame with thoſe at Olympia, I ſhall ſay no more of them. It will be

[t] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Lucian, in Alex. cap. 7, t. ii, p. 215.

ſufficient to obſerve that the Argives preſide at them [u], and that the victor is rewarded with a crown of parſley [x]. We afterwards entered the mountains, and, at the diſtance of fifteen ſtadia from the city, our guides ſhewed us, with a kind of ſhuddering, the cavern which was the den of the lion that fell beneath the club of Hercules [y].

From thence, returning to Corinth, we once more took the road to Athens, where, when I arrived, I continued my reſearches into the different parts of the adminiſtration, the opinions of the philoſophers, and the various branches of literature.

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[u] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 144. Julian. Epiſt. pro Argiv, p. 408.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 48, p. 697. Plin. lib. 19, cap. 8, p. 179. Lucian. Gymnaſ. cap. 9, t. ii. p. 888.

[y] Pauſan. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 144.

CHAP. LIV.

The Republic of Plato.

TWO great queſtions employ the attention of the philoſophers of Greece, the one concerning the manner in which the univerſe is governed, and the other on the mode in which men ought to be governed. Theſe problems, perhaps equally difficult to reſolve, are the perpetual ſubject of their converſations and their writings. We ſhall hereafter ſee what Plato, following Timæus, thought concerning the formation of the world. I ſhall now explain the means he imagined to conſtitute the moſt happy of political ſocieties.

He had more than once converſed with us on this ſubject, but he explained himſelf with greater care one day in the academy, where for ſome time he had ceaſed to give leſſons. He undertook to prove that he who is juſt muſt be happy, even though he ſhould have no good to hope from the gods, and every evil to fear from men. The better to ſhew what juſtice is in an individual, he examined what would be its effects in a govern-

ment, in which it manifeſts itſelf with a more marked influence, and in more ſenſible characters. The following is nearly the idea which he gave us of his ſyſtem. I ſhall introduce him ſpeaking, but muſt intreat the indulgence of my reader; for were it required to preſerve to his thoughts the beauties with which he knew to embelliſh them, the Graces themſelves muſt hold the pencil.

I mean not to give the plan either of a monarchy or a democracy. Whether the ſovereign authority be confided to a ſingle man, or exerciſed by a number of perſons, is of ſmall importance. I propoſe to form a government in which the people ſhall be happy under the empire of virtue.

I ſhall divide the citizens of ſuch a ſtate into three claſſes; that of the mercenaries, or the multitude; that of the warriors, or the guardians of the ſtate; and that of the magiſtrates, or ſages. To the firſt of theſe I ſhall preſcribe nothing; they were born blindly to follow the impreſſions of the two others.

I would form a body of warriors[z], who ſhould always have their arms in their hands, and whoſe object it ſhould be to preſerve the ſtate in profound tranquillity. They ſhall not be intermingled with the other citizens, but ſhall remain in a camp,

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 373.

and be conſtantly in readineſs to quell internal factions, and repulſe foreign invaſions[a].

But as men ſo formidable may be infinitely dangerous[b], and as, ſince they are in poſſeſſion of the whole force of the ſtate, it will be but too eaſy for them to uſurp a power over it, we will hold them in reſtraint, not by the laws, but by the vigour of an inſtitution which ſhall regulate their paſſions and even their virtues. We will cultivate their minds and their hearts by inſtructions which are relative to muſic, and we will increaſe their courage and their health by the exerciſes of the gymnaſium[c].

Their education ſhall commence from their earlieſt years[d], and the impreſſions which they ſhall then receive ſhall not be contrary to thoſe which they muſt afterwards experience. Care ſhall eſpecially be taken not to amuſe them with the idle fictions contained in the writings of Homer, Heſiod, and other poets. The diſſenſions and acts of vengeance falſely attributed to the gods can only preſent to them great crimes juſtified by great authorities; and it is indeed a ſerious misfortune to have been early accuſtomed to find

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[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 415.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 416.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2, p. 376.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 377.

nothing extraordinary in the moſt atrocious actions.

Let us never degrade the Divinity by ſuch images. Let poetry preſent herſelf to the children of warriors with equal dignity and beauty. Let them be inceſſantly taught that God can only be the author of good [c], that no real evil originates from him, that his chaſtiſements are benefits, and that the wicked are to be lamented, not when they ſuffer, but when they find the means to avoid them [f].

Care ſhall be taken to educate them in the moſt perfect contempt of death, and the terrific apparatus of the infernal ſhades [g]. The menacing and exaggerated deſcriptions of Cocytus and Styx may be uſeful on certain occaſions, but were not made for men, who ought only to be acquainted with fear by the effects of that with which they inſpire their enemies.

Intimately convinced of theſe truths, that death is not an evil [h], and that the ſage is ſufficient to himſelf, they ſhall ſee their friends and relatives expire around them without ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh. Their ſouls ſhall be alike ſuperior to the exceſs of grief, of joy, or of anger;

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[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2, p. 379.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 380. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 472 et 509.
[g] Id. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 386.
[h] Id. ibid. 3, p. 387.

they ſhall neither know vile intereſt, nor falſehood, if poſſible ſtill more vile. They ſhall bluſh at the weakneſs and cruelty which the poets have attributed to the ancient warriors[i], and they ſhall know that true heroiſm conſiſts only in the government of the paſſions and in obedience to the laws.

On their minds ſhall be engraven, as on braſs, in indelible characters, the internal ideas of juſtice and of truth; that the wicked are miſerable in proſperity[k], and that virtue is happy in perſecution, and even in oblivion.

But theſe truths ought not to be preſented in colours which may diminiſh their majeſty[l]. Baniſhed be thoſe actors who degrade them on the ſtage, by combining with them a too faithful picture of the infirmities and vices of humanity, their talents would inſpire our pupils with that taſte for imitation, the habit of which when early contracted enters into the manners and influences them every moment of their lives. It is not for them to copy geſtures and language which are unſuitable to their character; their behaviour and expreſſions ſhould breath the ſanctity of virtue, and have no other ornament than their extreme ſimplicity.

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[i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 391.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 392.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 394, &c.

Should any of thoſe poets who are ſo verſed in all the various forms of diſcourſe, and able indiſcriminately to repreſent every character, enter our city, we will ſhed perfumes on his head, and give him his diſmiſſion[m].

We will exclude from our muſic both the plaintive accents of the Lydian harmony, and the effeminacy of the Ionian ſong; but we will retain the Dorian mode, the maſculine and nervous expreſſion of which ſhall animate the courage of our warriors; and the Phrygian, whoſe peaceful and religious airs may ſuit the tranquillity which we would preſerve in the ſoul. Yet ſhall even theſe two modes be reſtrained in their movements, and compelled to aſſume a nobility of expreſſion conſonant to circumſtances, conformable to the airs which they are to regulate, and to the words to which they ſhould ever be ſubſervient[n].

From this happy relation eſtabliſhed between the words, the harmony, and the numbers, ſhall reſult that propriety, and by conſequence that beauty, the idea of which ought to be ever preſent to our pupils. This idea painting, architecture, and all the arts, ſhall inceſſantly offer to their eyes, that ſurrounded and aſſailed on every ſide by images of beauty, and living in the midſt of thoſe

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[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 398 et 399.
[n] Id. ibid.

images, as in a pure and ſerene air, they may be penetrated by them to the bottom of their ſouls, and accuſtomed to reflect them in their actions and manners[o]. Foſtered by theſe divine influences, they ſhall ſhudder at the firſt aſpect of vice, becauſe they perceive not on it the ſacred impreſs which they bear in their hearts; and ſhall exult with joy at the voice of reaſon and of virtue, becauſe they ſhall appear to them under known and familiar forms. They ſhall love beauty with all the tranſports, but without the extravagances, of love.

The ſame principles ſhall direct that part of their education which relates to the neceſſities and the exerciſes of the body[p]. But they cannot be ſubjected to any uniform and conſtant rule of regimen, becauſe men who are to lead their lives in a camp, and to follow the operations of a campaign, ought to be inured to ſupport hunger and thirſt, cold and heat, wants, fatigues, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons. They will find in a frugal diet the treaſures of health, and in conſtant exerciſe the means of increaſing their courage rather than their ſtrength[q]. Thoſe who ſhall have received from nature a delicate conſtitution, ſhall not ſeek to fortify it by the reſources of art. As the artiſan has not leiſure to repair the ruins of a

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[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 401.
[p] Id. ibid, p. 403.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 410.

body which labour conſumes[r], they would bluſh to prolong with their cares a dying life which is uſeleſs to the ſtate. Prompt and ſimple remedies ſhall be applied in caſes of accidental maladies, but the diſorders which ariſe from intemperance and other exceſſes ſhall be unknown, and thoſe, the ſeeds of which they brought with them into the world, left to chance[s]; we ſhall thus proſcribe that part of medicine which is of no other uſe than to multiply our ſufferings, and prolong our dying moments.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of the chace, dancing, or of the combats of the gymnaſium[t]; nor ſhall I ſpeak of that inviolable reverence to be paid to our parents, and to aged perſons[u], or of a number of other obſervances, to particularize which would lead me too far. I ſhall only eſtabliſh general principles, from which the particular rules will reſult of themſelves, and may be eaſily applied to exiſting circumſtances. The moſt eſſential of theſe is, that muſic and the gymnaſtic exerciſes have an equal influence on education, and that a juſt proportion ſhould be carefully maintained between the exerciſes of the body and thoſe of the mind; for muſic alone ſoftens and renders effeminate the

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[r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 406.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 310.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 412.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 425.

character which it tempers[x], and the exerciſes of the gymnaſium, while they beſtow on it vigour, render it harſh and ferocious. It is only by combining theſe two arts, and correcting the one by the other, that we can be able to bend or relax in a juſt proportion the ſprings of a too feeble or too impetuous mind; by theſe means only our warriors, uniting ſtrength and courage to mildneſs and amenity, will appear in the eyes of their enemies the moſt formidable, and in thoſe of their fellow citizens the moſt amiable, of men[y]. But, to produce this happy effect, care muſt be taken to make no innovation in the ſyſtem of the inſtitution once eſtabliſhed. It has been ſaid that, to introduce an alteration in the rules of muſic, would be to ſhake the fundamental laws of government[z]: I add, that we ſhould be expoſed to the ſame danger by making any alteration in the games, ſpectacles, or moſt trifling cuſtoms[a]. Becauſe, among a people which are governed rather by manners than by the laws, the leaſt innovations are dangerous; and becauſe the moment received uſages are departed from in a ſingle point, the opinion of their wiſdom is deſtroyed, an abuſe is in-

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[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 410.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 2, p. 376.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 424.
[a] Id. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 797.

troduced,

troduced, and poiſon circulates in the veins of the ſtate.

In our republic every thing will depend on the education of the warriors[b], and this education muſt depend wholly on the ſeverity of diſcipline. They muſt be taught to conſider the minuteſt obſervance as an indiſpenſable duty, and the moſt trifling negligence as a crime. Nor let any one be aſtoniſhed at the importance which we annex to practices apparently frivolous: even though they ſhould not immediately tend to promote the general good, exactneſs in their obſervance will yet be of the moſt ineſtimable value, becauſe it will teach to curb and guide the inclinations. We wiſh to exalt the mind to the higheſt degree of perfection for itſelf, and of utility to its country; to adapt it equally to the ſmalleſt and the greateſt things; to teach it inceſſantly to oppoſe and ſubject the will, till every thought and action has no other object than the public good. Thoſe who are incapable of this ſelf-renunciation cannot be admitted into the claſs of warriors, but ſhall be baniſhed into that of the artiſts and labourers[c]; for the difference of rank ſhall not with us be determined by birth, but ſolely by the qualities of the mind.

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[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4, p. 423, &c.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 415.

Before we proceed any farther, let us call on our pupils to caſt a glance on the life which they are one day to lead; they will then be leſs aſtoniſhed at the rigour of our diſcipline, and better prepared for the high deſtiny which awaits them.

If our warriors poſſeſſed lands and houſes, if gold and ſilver ſhould once pollute their hands[d], ambition, hatred, and all the paſſions which follow in the train of riches, would inſinuate themſelves into their hearts, and they would ſoon become no more than ordinary men. We will therefore deliver them from the influence of thoſe low cares which would bow them to the earth. They ſhall be maintained in common at the expence of the public, and their country, to which they ſhall dedicate all their thoughts and all their deſires, ſhall undertake to provide for their wants, which ſhall be reduced to what abſolute neceſſity demands. And ſhould it be objected to us that by theſe privations they muſt enjoy leſs happineſs than the other citizens, we will reply, that a legiſlator ought to propoſe to himſelf the happineſs of a whole ſociety, and not that of any ſingle claſs of citizens of which it is compoſed[e]. Whatever means he may employ to this end, if he ſucceeds, he will always have effected individual, which depends on

[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 416.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 420.

general, good. I beſides mean not to found a city which ſhall revel in pleaſures, but to regulate labour in ſuch a manner as to baniſh poverty without introducing riches[f]; and if our warriors differ from the other citizens, it will only be becauſe they poſſeſs more virtues and have fewer wants.

We have endeavoured to preſerve them from the infection of that ſordid intereſt which is the ſource of ſo many crimes; it will be alſo neceſſary to extend, or rather to perfect in their hearts, thoſe affections which nature inſpires, and to unite them among themſelves by the very means which contribute to divide them. I enter into a new track, in which I proceed with trembling; the ideas which I mean to propoſe will appear equally offenſive and chimerical. In fact, I diſtruſt myſelf; and this diſpoſition of mind, if I err, ought to enſure me a previous pardon for my involuntary error.

May not that ſex which we confine to obſcure and domeſtic employments be intended for more noble and more exalted functions[g]? Have not women a thouſand times given examples of courage, wiſdom, excellence in every virtue, and ſucceſs in all the arts[h]? The qualities of their minds may

[f] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4, p. 421.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 452.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 455.

perhaps be tinctured with their natural feebleneſs, and may be inferior to ours; but does it thence follow that they ought to be left uſeleſs to their country? No; Nature beſtows no talent to remain unemployed, and the great art of the legiſlator is to avail himſelf of all the ſprings ſhe furniſhes, and to leave none of them inactive. Our warriors ſhall ſhare with their wives the care of preſerving the tranquillity of the ſtate, as the faithful dog ſhares with his companion the guardianſhip of the flock entruſted to their mutual cares[i]. Both ſhall be educated in the ſame principles, in the ſame places, and under the ſame maſters. They ſhall be inſtructed together in the elements of the ſciences and the leſſons of wiſdom; and in the gymnaſium our youthful maidens, laying aſide their garments, and adorned with their virtues, as the moſt honourable of veſtments, ſhall diſpute the prize of the exerciſes with the youths their rivals[k].

We have too great a ſenſe of what we ſuppoſe to be decency, and are too much corrupted, not to revolt at a regulation which long habit and purer manners would render leſs dangerous. The magiſtrates ſhall nevertheleſs be attentive to prevent abuſes[l]. At certain feſtivals, inſtituted to form legitimate and ſacred unions, they ſhall caſt

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[i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 451; lib. 7, p. 537.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 452 et 457.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 458.

into an urn the names of thoſe who ſhall be ſelected to give defenders to the republic. Theſe ſhall be warriors from the age of thirty years to that of fifty-five, and females of the ſame claſs from that of twenty to that of forty[m]. The number of theſe ſhall be regulated by the loſſes which the ſtate may have ſuſtained, ſince the exceſs and the defect of population ought to be avoided with equal care. Chance, apparently, ſhall join their hands, but the magiſtrates, by adroit contrivance, ſhall ſo properly correct the caprices of fortune, that the perſons of either ſex moſt proper to preſerve the race of our warriors in its purity ſhall always be united. At the ſame time, the prieſts and prieſteſſes ſhall pour forth the blood of victims on the altar, the air ſhall reſound with hymns and epithalamiums[n], and the people, at once the witneſſes and guardians of the unions formed by lot, ſhall ſupplicate heaven to grant to the republic ſons ſtill more virtuous than their fathers.

The children which ſhall be born of theſe marriages ſhall be immediately taken from their parents, and lodged in a place to which their mothers ſhall repair, without knowing them, to diſtribute, ſometimes to one and ſometimes to another, that ſuſtenance which Nature has provided for infants,

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 460.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 459.

and which they ſhall not be permitted to reſerve excluſively for the fruits of their own affections[o].

Into this nurſery of warriors ſhall not be admitted children born with any deformity; they ſhall be removed and concealed in ſome obſcure retreat: nor ſhall thoſe be received into it whoſe birth ſhall not have been preceded by the auguſt ceremonies before deſcribed, nor thoſe which ſhall be the fruit of a premature or too late union[p].

When the huſband and wife ſhall have fulfilled the wiſhes of the ſtate, they ſhall ſeparate and remain at liberty till the magiſtrates call on them again to unite, and chance ſhall aſſign to them other connections. From this ſucceſſion of marriages and divorces it will reſult that the ſame women may from time to time appertain to many warriors[q].

But when either men or women ſhall have paſſed the age preſcribed by the laws to the engagements they ordain[r], they ſhall be permitted to contract others; always provided that on the one ſide no fruit of their union be ſuffered to appear, and on the other that they form no connections with thoſe from whom they derive their birth, or to whom they have given exiſtence.

But as this may be difficult to aſcertain, it ſhall

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[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 460.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 457.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 461.

ſuffice for them to conſider as their ſons and daughters all the children born at the ſame time with thoſe of whom they were actually the parents; and this maxim ſhall be a principle of union unknown in other ſtates[s]. In fact each warrior ſhall imagine himſelf united by the ties of blood with every other, and the tender and beloved names of father and mother, ſon and daughter, brother and ſiſter, ſhall be common to all. The ſentiments of nature, inſtead of concentrating to particular objects, ſhall be abundantly diffuſed through this extenſive family, and animate the whole with the ſame ſpirit. All hearts ſhall with eaſe fulfil duties which they ſhall impoſe on themſelves, and, renouncing all perſonal advantage, ſhall mutually divide their griefs, which they ſhall enfeeble, and their pleaſures, which they ſhall augment, by participating. The ſeeds of diſſenſion ſhall be deſtroyed by the authority of the chiefs, and all violence enchained by the fear of offending againſt nature[t].

This precious affection, which ſhall unite them during peace, ſhall act with ſtill greater force in war. Let us imagine, in the field of battle, a troop of youthful warriors, of ardent courage[u], exerciſed in combats from their infancy, ready to diſplay the virtues they have acquired, and per-

[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 463.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 465.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 471.

ſuaded that by an act of cowardice they ſhall become baſe and contemptible, by noble deeds exalted to honour, and that by death they ſhall merit altars; let us ſuppoſe that at this moment the powerful voice of their country meets their ears, and that to this voice are joined the plaintive exclamations of friendſhip, which ſhews them from rank to rank all their friends in danger: laſtly, to awaken in their ſouls the ſtrongeſt emotions, let us place in the midſt of them their wives and children; their wives who come to fight beſide them, and reanimate them with their voices and their eyes; their children, to whom it is their duty to give leſſons of valour, and who, it may be, are on the point of periſhing by the barbarous ſword of the enemy: can we believe that this body of men, actuated by theſe moſt powerful intereſts as by an ardent flame, will for a moment heſitate to collect all their forces and all their rage; to fall like a thunderbolt on their enemies, and cruſh them with an irreſiſtible fury?

Such ſhall be the ſublime effects of the union eſtabliſhed between our warriors. But they ſhall likewiſe poſſeſs exalted ſentiments, which they ſhall owe only to their virtues[x]. They ſhall be able to check their paſſions in their impetuous career, and become mild, compaſſionate, and hu-

[x] Plat. de. Rep. lib. 5, p. 469, &c.

mane after their victory. They ſhall not once entertain the thought of loading with chains a vanquiſhed enemy, nor ſhall they inſult the dead on the field of battle, nor ſuſpend trophies in the temples of the gods, who have no pleaſure in ſuch offerings, nor carry fire and ſword through a defenceleſs country. Theſe cruelties, which they ſhall ſcarcely permit themſelves to exerciſe on the barbarians, ought never to be known in Greece, in that republic of friendly nations, the diviſions of which ſhould never preſent the image of war, but rather that of the tranſitory diſſenſions which ſometimes happen between the citizens of the ſame city[y].

We may now be ſatisfied that we have ſufficiently provided for the happineſs of our warriors[z]. We have enriched them by depriving them of all property; without poſſeſſing any thing they ſhall enjoy all things. There is not one among them but may ſay: Every thing belongs to me. And who ought not to add, ſaid Ariſtotle, who had hitherto remained ſilent: Nothing appertains to me in reality. Oh, Plato! it is not thoſe poſſeſſions which we ſhare with others that we value moſt, but thoſe which are perſonal and peculiar to us. The moment your warriors ſhall have no kind of property, expect from them only an intereſt

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[y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 465.
[z] Id. ibid.

without animation as it is without object. Their affection, unable to fix on that multitude of children which ſurround them, ſhall become languid, and each ſhall rely on the other to furniſh examples and beſtow inſtruction, as we ſee the domeſtics in a family addicted to neglect thoſe duties which are common to them all[a].

Plato replied: We have placed in the hearts of our warriors two principles; ſentiment and virtue, which in concert muſt inceſſantly inſpire them with zeal. The former ſhall not only act on them in a general manner by their conſidering themſelves as all citizens of the ſame country, but its influence ſhall become ſtill more forcible and extenſive, ſince they ſhall view each other as all children of the ſame family: and ſuch they ſhall be in fact; for the obſcurity of their birth ſhall not render dubious their claims to affinity. If the illuſion be not equally powerful with the reality, it ſhall at leaſt be more extenſive; for little does it ſignify whether the affections be carried to an exceſs between certain individuals, provided they enter all hearts, and ſuffice to connect them by one common chain. But if by chance they ſhould be too feeble to render our warriors attentive and vigilant, have we not another motive in that ſublime virtue

[a] Ariſtot. de Polit. lib. 2, cap. 3 et 4, t. ii. p. 314, &c.

which ſhall inceſſantly tranſport them even beyond their duty?

Ariſtotle was about to reply, but we prevented him, and he contented himſelf with aſking Plato whether he believed it poſſible that his republic ſhould exiſt.

Plato mildly replied: Recollect the object of my enquiry[b]. I wiſh to prove that happineſs is inſeparable from juſtice, and with this view I examine what form of government would be the beſt, that I may hereafter ſhew which would be the moſt happy. If a painter ſhould preſent to us a figure, the beauty of which ſhould ſurpaſs all our ideas, ſhould we object to him that nothing equal to it is produced by nature? I in like manner preſent to you the image of the moſt perfect republic. I propoſe it as the model to which all other governments ought more or leſs to approach, to be more or leſs happy. I will go farther, and add, that my project, chimerical as it may appear, may in ſome manner be realized, not only among us, but in every other government, were a change made in the adminiſtration of affairs. And what ſhould be that change? That philoſophers ſhould aſcend the throne, or that ſovereigns ſhould become philoſophers[c].

This idea will no doubt offend all thoſe who

[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 472.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 473.

are not acquainted with true philoſophy; but thoſe who are will be ſenſible that no other remedy can be found for the evils which afflict humanity.

I am now come to the third and moſt important claſs of citizens, I mean the magiſtrates; that ſmall number of men, choſen from among the virtuous: thoſe chiefs who, taken from the claſs of warriors, as much excel them in merit, as they excel the artiſts and the labourers.

What precautions will not be neceſſary in the choice of men ſo rare, what ſtudy and obſervation to diſcern and what labour to form them! Let us enter into that ſanctuary in which are educated the ſons of the warriors, and into which the children of the other citizens may merit to be admitted. Let us ſelect thoſe who, joining the advantages of perſon to other natural graces, diſtinguiſh themſelves from their companions in all the exerciſes of body and mind[d]. Let us examine if the deſire of knowledge and the love of virtue early ſparkle in their eyes, and manifeſt themſelves in their diſcourſe; let us obſerve whether, in proportion as the powers of the mind expand, they are inſpired with a more ardent love for their duty, and whether the ſigns of the character we ſeek more frequently eſcape them as their years increaſe. Let us lay ſnares for their infant reaſon; and if

[d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, p. 485 et 486; lib. 7, p. 535.

the principles it has imbibed can neither be altered by time nor by contrary principles, let us attack them by the fear of pain, by the allurements of pleaſure, and by every kind of violence and ſeduction[e]. Let us afterwards place our young pupils in the preſence of the enemy, not to engage in the conflict, but to be ſpectators of it; and let us carefully remark the impreſſion made on them by the view of labours and dangers. After having ſeen them come forth from theſe trials as pure as gold from the crucible[f]; after having convinced ourſelves that they naturally entertain an averſion to the pleaſures of ſenſe, and feel a horror at falſehood[g]; that they join a propriety of thinking to exalted ſentiments, and vivacity of imagination to ſolidity of character[h]; let us watch over their conduct with ſtill increaſed attention, and redouble our cares to continue and complete their education.

We have ſpoken above of the principles which ſhould regulate their manners; we are at preſent to conſider the ſciences moſt proper to expand and improve their mental faculties. The firſt of theſe ſhould be arithmetic and geometry[i]; both proper to increaſe the ſtrength and diſcernment of the

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[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 413.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 503.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 485.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 503.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 7, p. 522 et 526.

mind, both uſeful to the warrior to guide him in his military operations, and abſolutely neceſſary to the philoſopher to accuſtom him to fix his ideas, and raiſe him to the perception of truth. Aſtronomy, muſic, and all the ſciences which produce the ſame effect, ſhall alſo enter into the plan of our inſtitution[k]. But our pupils muſt apply themſelves to theſe ſtudies without effort, without conſtraint, and as it were for amuſement[l]. At the age of eighteen they ſhall ſuſpend them to reſign themſelves wholly, during two or three years, to the exerciſes of the gymnaſium; after which they ſhall reſume them, and obſerve the relation which they have to each other[m]. Thoſe among them who ſhall continue to juſtify the expectations we had conceived of them in their infancy ſhall obtain honourable diſtinctions; and as ſoon as they ſhall be arrived at the age of thirty years, they ſhall be initiated into the ſcience of meditation, into thoſe ſublime dialectics which ought to be the concluſion of their firſt ſtudies, and the object of which is leſs the knowledge of the exiſtence than that of the eſſence of things*.

We have to blame ourſelves alone if this object has not hitherto been fulfilled. Our youth, at-

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[k] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 527 et 530.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 536.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 537.
* In the time of Plato by the term dialectics were underſtood at once logic, natural theology, and metaphyſics.

taching themſelves too early to dialectics, and not being able to aſcend to the principles of the truths which they teach, convert their ſtudies into an amuſement[n], and engage in contentions in which, ſometimes victors and ſometimes vanquiſhed, they only acquire doubts and errors. Hence thoſe defects which they retain through their whole lives, that love of contradiction, that indifference for thoſe truths which they have been unable to defend, and that predilection for the ſophiſms that have obtained them the victory.

Succeſs ſo frivolous and dangerous ſhall have no temptations for our pupils; more ſolid inſtruction ſhall be the fruit of their converſations and their ſtudies. Diſengaged from the fetters of the ſenſes, and abſorbed in meditation, they ſhall gradually be filled with the idea of good; that good after which we ardently ſigh, and of which we form ſuch confuſed images; that ſupreme good, the ſource of all truth and all juſtice, which ought to animate the ſovereign magiſtrate, and render him inflexible in the diſcharge of his duties[o]. But where does this good reſide, and where is it to be ſought? In pleaſures by which we are intoxicated? In knowledge that inflates us with pride? In the ſplendid decoration by which we are dazzled? No; for whatever

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 539.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 505 et 508.

is moveable and changeable cannot be the true good. Let us then leave the earth and the ſhades in which it is buried, and, raiſing our minds towards the abode of light, declare to mortals the truths of which they are ignorant.

Two worlds exiſt, the one viſible and the other ideal[p]. The firſt, formed on the model of the other, is that which we inhabit. In it every thing, being ſubject to generation and corruption, changes and paſſes away inceſſantly, while we only behold the images and fugitive portions of being. The ſecond contains the eſſences and prototypes of all viſible objects, and theſe eſſences are real beings, ſince they are immutable. Two kings, one of whom is the ſervant and ſlave of the other, diffuſe their ſplendours in theſe two worlds. In the expanſe of heaven the ſun diſcloſes and perpetuates the objects which he renders viſible to our eyes. From the moſt exalted part of the intellectual world, the ſupreme good produces and preſerves the eſſences which he renders intelligible to our ſouls[q]. The ſun enlightens us with his light, the ſupreme good by his truth; and as our eyes have a diſtinct perception when they are fixed on bodies which receive the light of day, in the ſame manner our ſoul acquires real knowledge when it conſiders beings which reflect the truth.

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[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6, p. 509.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 508.

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but would you know how much the light which illumines theſe two worlds differs in ſplendour and beauty? Imagine a profound cavern, in which are men, who from their infancy have been ſo loaded with heavy chains that they are unable to move from the place in which they are, or to behold any objects but thoſe before their faces[r]. Behind them, at a certain diſtance, is placed, on a height, a fire, which diffuſes a feeble light through the cavern. Between this fire and the captives is a wall, along which perſons go and come, ſome in ſilence, others converſing together, and holding in their hands, and raiſing above the wall, the figures of men or animals, and moveables of every kind, the ſhades of which are projected on the ſide of the cavern expoſed to the eyes of the captives, who, ſtruck by theſe tranſient images, will take them for real beings, and attribute to them motion, life, and ſpeech. Let us now ſuppoſe that we take one of theſe captives[s], and, to diſſipate his illuſion, break his chains, and oblige him to riſe and turn his head. Aſtoniſhed at the new objects which preſent themſelves, he will doubt their reality, and, dazzled and hurt by the brightneſs of the fire, he will turn away his eyes, again to fix them on the vain phantoms which before engaged his attention. Let us make him undergo a new trial, let us force

r Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 514.
s Id. ibid. p. 515.

him from his cavern, in deſpite of his cries, his reſiſtance, and all the difficulties which he has to encounter. When brought above the ſurface of the earth, he will find himſelf ſuddenly overwhelmed by the ſplendour of day, and it will not be till after frequent trials that he will be able to diſtinguiſh ſhadows and bodies, to view the ſtars, and to obſerve the ſun, and conſider him as the author of the ſeaſons and the fruitful principle of every object of our ſenſes[t].

But what idea muſt he then entertain of the praiſes he has heard given in his cavern to thoſe who firſt noticed and diſtinguiſhed the ſhadows in their paſſage? What muſt he think of the pride, hatreds, and jealouſies which thoſe diſcoveries have excited among his wretched companions? A ſentiment of pity will no doubt compel him to fly to their ſuccour, to teach them the deception of their falſe wiſdom and puerile knowledge; but ſince, paſſing ſo ſuddenly from ſo great a light to ſuch profound obſcurity, he will at firſt be able to diſcern nothing, they will raiſe a cry againſt him, and, never ceaſing to reproach him with his blindneſs, will exhibit him as a terrible example of the dangers to which thoſe are expoſed who venture into the ſuperior region[u].

Such is preciſely the picture of our wretched

[t] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 516.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 517.

condition. The human race is buried in an immenſe cavern, loaded with chains, and only able to diſcern and employ their attention on unreal and artificial ſhadows[x]. Pleaſures here have only a painful concluſion, the good moſt eagerly purſued a deceitful ſplendour, virtue a frail foundation, and bodies themſelves an illuſory exiſtence. We muſt leave this place of darkneſs, break our chains, raiſe ourſelves by redoubled efforts to the intellectual world[y], approach by degrees the ſupreme intelligence, and contemplate his divine nature in the ſilence of the ſenſes and the paſſions. Then ſhall we ſee that from his throne flow, in the order of moral eſſences, juſtice, knowledge, and truth; and in that of natural, the light of the ſun, the productions of the earth, and the exiſtence of all things. No; a ſoul which has arrived at this ſublime elevation, which has once experienced the emotions and the tranſports excited by a view of the ſupreme good[z], will never again deign to return and partake in our labours and our honours; or, if it ſhould deſcend among us, and, before it is familiarized to our darkneſs, be forced to explain itſelf on the real eſſence of juſtice, to men who are only acquainted with its phantom[a], the novel principles it muſt teach will appear ſo abſurd or ſo

[x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 517.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 250. Id. de Rep. lib. 6, p. 485.
[a] Id. de Rep. ibid. p. 517.

dangerous, that it muſt either be ridiculed for its madneſs, or puniſhed for its temerity.

Such nevertheleſs are the ſages who ſhall be at the head of our republic, and who ſhall be formed by dialectics. During the ſpace of five whole years dedicated to this ſtudy[b], they ſhall meditate on the nature of what is fitting, juſt, and true. Not ſatisfied with the vague and uncertain notions now taught, they ſhall inveſtigate their true origin. They ſhall read their duties not in the precepts of men, but in the inſtructions which they ſhall immediately receive from the moſt exalted of beings. From the familiar converſations which, if I may ſo ſpeak, they ſhall have with him, they ſhall derive infallible light to diſcern the truth, unſhaken firmneſs in the exerciſe of juſtice, and that obſtinate perſeverance in good which nothing can vanquiſh, but which, in the end, triumphs over all things.

But while thus cloſely connected with the Supreme Being, and living a true and real life[c], they ſhall forget all nature, the republic, which poſſeſſes claims on their virtues, ſhall recall them to itſelf to confide to them military employments and other functions ſuitable to their age[d]. They ſhall then paſs new trials till they have arrived at

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[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, p. 539.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 490.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 7, p. 519 et 540.

their fiftieth year, when they ſhall be inveſted, in deſpite of themſelves, with the ſovereign authority, and ſhall approach with increaſing fervour the Supreme Being, that he may guide them in their conduct. Thus appertaining to heaven by philoſophy, and to earth by their duties, they ſhall inſtruct and render happy their fellow citizens. After their death they ſhall revive in their ſucceſſors, who have been trained by their leſſons and example; their grateful country ſhall erect monuments to them, and invoke them as tutelary genii[e].

The philoſophers whom we ſhall place at the head of our republic ſhall not then be idle declaimers, and ſophiſts deſpiſed by the multitude whom they are incapable to conduct[f]; they ſhall poſſeſs great and vigorous minds, they ſhall be wholly occupied in promoting the good of the ſtate, well informed in every branch of the adminiſtration by long experience and the moſt ſublime of theories, and become by their virtue and knowledge the images and interpreters of the gods on earth. As our republic ſhall be but of ſmall extent[g], they will eaſily, at a ſingle glance, embrace all its parts. Their authority, ſo reſpectable in itſelf, ſhall be ſupported, in caſe of need, by that body of invincible and pacific warriors

[e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 414; lib. 7, p. 540.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 6, p. 493.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 4, p. 423.

who ſhall know no other ambition than to defend the laws and their country[h]. The people ſhall find their happineſs in the enjoyment of a moderate but certain fortune, the warriors in their exemption from domeſtic cares, and the praiſes beſtowed on their ſucceſs[i]; and the magiſtrates in the pleaſure of doing good, and having the Supreme Being for a witneſs to their actions.

To theſe motives Plato added another ſtill more powerful, by preſenting the proſpect of the happineſs and miſery reſerved in another life to vice and virtue. He dwelt at length on the immortality and various tranſmigrations of the ſoul[k]. He next enumerated the eſſential defects of the governments already eſtabliſhed, and concluded by obſerving that he had preſcribed nothing concerning the worſhip of the gods, ſince the regulation of that appertained to the oracle of Delphi.

When he had ended ſpeaking, his diſciples, captivated by his eloquence, remained abſorbed in admiration: but others of his hearers affirmed that he had raiſed an edifice more ſpecious than ſolid[l], and that his ſyſtem ought only to be conſidered as the delirious offſpring of a heated imagination and a virtuous heart. Others pronounced ſentence with ſtill more ſeverity: Plato, ſaid they,

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[h] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3, p. 395.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 5, p. 468.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 10, p. 608.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 367.

is not himſelf the author of this project; he has borrowed it from the laws of Lycurgus and the writings of Pythagoras, in which he has found almoſt the whole of it[m]. While he was in Sicily he wiſhed to realize it in a corner of that iſland; but the younger Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, who had at firſt granted him his permiſſion, afterwards refuſed it him[n]. He appears now only to propoſe his plan with reſtrictions, and as a ſimple hypotheſis, but, by declaring more than once in his diſcourſe that it is poſſible to carry it into execution[o], he has ſufficiently diſcovered his ſecret ſentiments.

Formerly, added they, thoſe who ſought to correct the form of government were ſages who, enlightened by their own experience or by that of others, knew that the diſorders of a ſtate are exaſperated inſtead of being cured by too violent remedies; at preſent they are philoſophers who poſſeſs more ingenuity than knowledge, and wiſh to inſtitute a government without defect, and produce men without frailties. Hippodamus of Miletus was the firſt who, without having had any part in the adminiſtration of affairs, projected a new plan of a republic[p]. Protagoras[q] and other authors

[m] Ariſtox. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 3, § 37.
[n] Diogen. Laert. lib. 3, § 21.
[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, p. 471 et 472; lib. 6, p. 499; lib. 7. p. 540.
[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 325.
[q] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9, § 55.

have followed his example, who will alſo hereafter be imitated by others, ſince nothing is ſo eaſy as to invent ſyſtems to enſure the happineſs of the people, and nothing ſo difficult as to carry them into execution. Perhaps indeed no perſon is more convinced of the truth of this obſervation than Plato, who has never communicated his projects of reform to thoſe who have requeſted them from him, though he has beſtowed them on others who were unable to make uſe of them[r]. He refuſed them to the inhabitants of Megalopolis becauſe they would not conſent to admit a perfect equality of poſſeſſions and honours[s]; and to thoſe of Cyrene, becauſe they were too rich to obey his laws[t]. But if theſe ſtates had been ſo virtuous and ſo regardleſs of wealth and diſtinctions as he required, they would not have needed the aſſiſtance of his philoſophy. Yet theſe pretexts did not prevent him from giving his advice to the people of Syracuſe, when, after the death of Dion, they conſulted him on the form of government which they ſhould eſtabliſh in their city[u]. It is true that his plan was not followed, though

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[r] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328.

[s] Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3, § 23. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 42.

[t] Plut. in Lucull. t. i. p. 492. Id. ad Princip. Inert. t. ii. p. 779. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 30.

[u] Plat. Epiſt. 8, t. iii. p. 352.

it was much more eaſy to reduce to practice than that of his republic.

It was thus that many of thoſe who heard Plato expreſſed themſelves, either from conviction or from jealouſy, concerning the political projects of that philoſopher.

CHAP. LV.

On the Commerce of the Athenians.

THE harbour of the Piræus is much frequented, not only by Grecian veſſels, but alſo by thoſe of the nations which the Greeks denominate barbarians[x]; and a ſtill greater number would reſort thither if the republic knew better to profit by the happy ſituation of the country, the goodneſs of its harbours, the ſuperiority of its ſhipping, its ſilver mines, and the other advantages it poſſeſſes; and if honours were beſtowed as a reward on the merchants whoſe induſtry and activity have increaſed the national wealth[y]. But when the Athenians felt the neceſſity of a navy, too much actuated by the ſpirit of conqueſt, they only aſpired to the ſovereignty of the ſea, to obtain that of the land; and their commerce has been confined to procuring from other countries the commodities and productions neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence.

Throughout all Greece the laws have impoſed ſhackles on commerce, and thoſe of Carthage have

[x] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 948.
[y] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

ſometimes laid reſtrictions on the property of their coloniſts. After the latter city had taken poſſeſſion of a part of Sardinia, and peopled it with new inhabitants[z], ſhe forbade them to ſow their lands, and commanded them to exchange the fruits of their induſtry for the too abundant commodities of the metropolis[a]. The Grecian colonies are not held in the ſame dependence, and are in general more in a condition to furniſh proviſions to their parent cities than to receive their ſupplies of neceſſaries from them.

Plato compares gold and virtue to two weights in a balance, one of which cannot riſe unleſs the other ſinks[b]. According to this idea, a city ought to be ſituated at a diſtance from the ſea, and neither to receive too many nor too few commodities. Beſides that it would preſerve its manners uncorrupted, it would require but half the number of laws which are neceſſary to other ſtates; for the more commerce flouriſhes the more muſt theſe be multiplied[c]. The Athenians have a great number, relative to captains of ſhips, merchants, duties, intereſt of money, and the different kinds of contracts and agreements which they are continually making in the Piræus and with the bankers.

The object of many of theſe laws is to remove

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[z] Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1, cap. 31.
[a] Ariſtot. de Mirab. Auſcult. t. i. p. 1159.
[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8, p. 550.
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 842.

and prevent as much as poſſible the litigations and obſtacles which impede the operations of commerce. They inflict a fine of a thouſand drachmas *, and ſometimes the puniſhment of impriſonment, on him who ſhall accuſe a merchant of any crime which he is unable to prove [d]. As merchant ſhips keep the ſea only from the month of Munychion to the month Boedromion †, all cauſes relative to commerce are only to be heard during the ſix months which intervene between the return of the veſſels and their again leaving port [e]. To theſe wiſe regulations Xenophon has propoſed to add rewards for thoſe judges who ſhall ſooneſt determine the ſuits brought before their tribunal [f].

This juriſdiction, which only takes cognizance of cauſes of a commercial kind, is particularly attentive to the conduct of merchants. Commerce certainly derives more advantage from thoſe who lend than from thoſe who borrow; and I have ſeen a citizen, the ſon of an Athenian who had commanded armies, puniſhed with death, becauſe, having borrowed great ſums, he had not furniſhed ſufficient ſecurities [g].

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* 900 livres (37 l. 10 s.).

[d] Orat. in Theocr. ap. Demoſth. p. 850.

† In the Metonic cycle the month Munychion began, at the ſooneſt, on the 28th of March of the Julian year, and the month Boedromion on the 23d of Auguſt; ſo that the ſhips kept the ſea from the beginning of April to the end of September.

[e] Demoſth. in Apat. p. 937. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 423.

[f] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

[g] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 947.

As Attica produces but little corn, the exportation of it is prohibited[h], and thoſe who fetch it from diſtant countries are forbidden, under rigorous penalties, to carry it to any other market but that of Athens[i]. A great quantity is brought from Egypt and Sicily[k], and a ſtill greater from Panticapæum and Theodoſia, cities of the Cherſoneſus Taurica, becauſe the ſovereign of that country, the maſter of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, has exempted the Athenian veſſels from paying the duty of the thirtieth which he levies on the exportation of that commodity. In conſequence of this privilege they trade in preference to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, from which Athens receives annually four hundred thouſand medimni of corn[l].

They import from Panticapæum, and the different coaſts of the Euxine ſea, timber for building, ſlaves, ſalt, honey, wax, wool, leather, and goat-ſkins[m]*; from Byzantium, and ſome other parts of Thrace and Macedonia, ſalt-fiſh and

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[h] Ulp. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.

[i] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 956. Id. in Phorm. p. 945. Liban. in Demoſth. adv. Theocr. p. 848.

[k] Demoſth. adv. Dionyſ. p. 1122.

[l] Id. in Leptin. p. 545.

[m] Id. in Lacrit. p. 953 et 954. Id. in Phorm. p. 941. Polyb. lib. 4, p. 306.

* The ſame trade ſtill ſubſiſts. A great quantity of ſalt-fiſh, corn, leather, wool, &c. are annually exported from Caffa (the ancient Theodoſia) and the environs (Voyag. de Chardin, t. i. p. 108 et 117).

wood[n]; from Phrygia and Miletus, carpets, coverlets for beds, and the fine wool of which they make their cloths[o]; from the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, wine, and the various kinds of fruits which they produce; and from Thrace, Theſſaly, Phrygia, and many other countries, a great number of ſlaves.

Oil is the only commodity which Solon has permitted them to exchange for foreign merchandize[p]: the exportation of all the other productions of Attica is prohibited; nor is it permitted to carry out of the country, without paying heavy duties[q], the timber of the fir, the cypreſs, the plane, and other trees which grow in the environs of Athens.

The Athenians find a great reſource for their commerce in their ſilver mines. As ſeveral ſtates practiſe the debaſing of their coin, the money of Athens, in greater eſtimation than that of other countries, procures them an advantageous exchange[r]. In general they purchaſe wine in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, or on the coaſts of Thrace; for it is principally by means of this commodity that they traffic with the people who inhabit the

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[n] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 108. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 106. Athen. lib. 3, p. 117 et 120.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 493. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 730. Id. in Ran. v. 549. Spanh. ibid.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

[q] Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Caſaub. ibid. p. 160.

[r] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 805. Polyb. Excerpt. Leg. p. 833 et 842. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

borders of the Euxine ſea[s]. The taſte conſpicuous in the works of their artiſts renders the productions of their induſtry every where in great requeſt. They export to diſtant countries ſwords, and arms of different kinds, cloths, beds, and various utenſils. Books themſelves are with them an article of trade[t].

They maintain correſpondents in almoſt all the places to which they are attracted by the hope of gain; and, on the other hand, many of the ſtates of Greece appoint agents at Athens to ſuperintend the intereſts of their trade[u].

Thoſe foreigners who have ſettled at Athens may, after having paid the tax impoſed on them, buy and ſell in the public market[x]; but all other ſtrangers muſt expoſe their merchandiſe to ſale in the Piræus. And that corn may not riſe above its ordinary price, which is five drachmas the medimnus[y] *, every citizen is prohibited, under pain of death, from buying above a certain quantity[z] †. The ſame puniſhment is denounced

[s] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 249 et 954. Polyb. lib. 4, p. 306.
[t] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7, p. 412.
[u] Demoſth. in Callip. p. 1099.
[x] Id. in Eubul. p. 887.
[y] Id. in Phorm. p. 946.

* Five drachmas, 4 liv. 10 ſ. (3s. 9d.) The medimnus was about four of our buſhels (Goguet, de l'Origine des Lois, &c. t. iii. p. 260).

[z] Lyſ. in Dardan. p. 388. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 420.

† The text of Lyſias has πεντήκοντα φορμῶν, which may be rendered fifty baſkets; it is a meaſure the exact value of which is not known.

againſt the inſpectors of corn if they neglect to prevent a monopoly[a]; a practice at all times forbidden to individuals, but in ſome places employed by the government to augment its revenues[b].

The greater part of the Athenians employ their money in trade; but they are not permitted to lend it for any place but Athens[c]. They receive an intereſt for the uſe of it, which is not fixed by the laws, but ſtipulated in a contract, depoſited either in the hands of a banker[d], or ſome friend to both parties. If, for inſtance, a voyage is to be made to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the inſtrument ſpecifies the time of the departure of the veſſel, the kind of commodities with which ſhe is to be freighted, the ſale which is to be made of them in the Boſphorus, and the merchandiſe which ſhe is to bring back to Athens[e]: and as the duration of the voyage is uncertain, ſome agree that their money ſhall not be payable till the return of the veſſel; while others, more timid, and contented with a leſs profit, require that it ſhall be repaid at the Boſphorus, immediately after the ſale of the goods carried out[f]; in which caſe they either

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[a] Lyſ. in Dardan. p. 392.
[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 309.
[c] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 957.
[d] Id. in Phorm. p. 941.
[e] Id. in Lacrit. p. 949.
[f] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 943.

themſelves

themſelves repair to the place where they are to receive it, or ſend thither ſome perſon in whom they can confide, and whom they empower to act for them [g].

The leader has his ſecurity either on the merchandize or the goods of the borrower [h]; but as the dangers of the ſea are in part riſked by the former [i], and the profit of the latter may be very conſiderable, the intereſt of money thus lent may riſe as high as thirty per cent. more or leſs, according to the length and hazards of the voyage [k].

The uſury of which I have ſpoken is known by the name of maritime; that called landed is more oppreſſive and no leſs variable.

Thoſe who without riſking the dangers of the ſea wiſh to derive profit from their money, lend it to bankers or other perſons, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum [l]; or rather one per cent. for every new moon [m]. But as the laws of Solon do not prohibit thoſe who have money from demanding the moſt extravagant intereſt for it [n], ſome

[g] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 944.
[h] Id. in Lacrit. p. 950, 951, &c.
[i] Id. in Phorm. p. 940 et 944.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 943. Id. in Lacrit. p. 949. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988.
[l] Id. in Aphob. p. 900. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 444.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 17. Schol. ibid. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10, p. 349.
[n] Lyſ. in Theomn. p. 179.

perſons[o] receive more than ſixteen per cent. monthly[p], and others, eſpecially among the lower claſſes of people, exact every day the quarter of the principal[q]. Theſe extortions are not concealed, and cannot be puniſhed, except by the public opinion, which condemns[r], but does not ſufficiently deſpiſe, thoſe who are guilty of them.

Commerce increaſes the circulation of wealth, and this circulation has given birth to the occupation of bankers, which facilitates it ſtill more. A perſon who is about to make a voyage, or who fears to keep by him too great a ſum of money, lodges it in the hands of theſe bankers, ſometimes only as a truſt, and without requiring any intereſt; and ſometimes on condition of ſharing with them the profit it ſhall produce[s]. They advance money to generals who go to take on them the command of armies[t], or other individuals who ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance.

In the greater part of bargains made with them no witneſs is required[u]. They content themſelves with entering in a regiſter that ſuch a perſon has depoſited in their hands ſuch a ſum, which they

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[o] Plat. de Repub. lib. 8, t. ii. p. 255.
[p] Pet. Leg. Att. p 403.
[q] Theophr. Charact. cap. 6. Caſaub. ibid.
[r] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 994. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1, cap. 10.
[s] Herald. Animadver. in Salmaſ. p. 178 et 182.
[t] Demoſth. in Timoth. p. 1074.
[u] Iſocr. in Trapez. t. ii. p. 449.

muſt repay to ſuch another, if the former ſhould happen to die[x]. It would ſometimes be very difficult to prove that they have received a ſum of money were they to deny it; but if they ſhould expoſe themſelves to ſuch a charge more than once, they would loſe the confidence of the public, on which depends their ſucceſs in the buſineſs in which they have engaged[y].

By employing the money depoſited in their hands, and lending it at a greater intereſt than they are to pay for it[z], they amaſs riches[a], which gain them friends whoſe protection they purchaſe by aſſiduous ſervices[b]. But all is loſt when, unable to call in their money, they are incapable of fulfilling their engagements[c]. They are then obliged to conceal themſelves[d], and can only eſcape the ſeverity of juſtice by ſurrendering all their remaining property to their creditors[e].

Thoſe who wiſh to exchange foreign money, as darics, cyziceni, &c. for theſe are current in commerce[f], apply to the bankers[g], who by different

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[x] Demoſth. in Callip. p. 1098.
[y] Iſocr. in Trapez. p. 458. Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 965.
[z] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. p. 182.
[a] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 959 et 965.
[b] Iſocr. in Trapez. p. 449.
[c] Demoſth. in Timoth. p. 1083.
[d] Id. in Apat. p. 934.
[e] Id. in Phorm. p. 966.
[f] Lyſ. in Eratoſth. p. 194.
[g] Menand. ap. Phrynich. Eclog. p. 192. Lyſias, ap. Poll. lib. 7, cap. 33, § 170. Theocr. Idyll. 12, v. 37. Poll. lib. 3, cap. 9, § 84. Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. p. 176 et 177.

means, as the touchſtone and the balance, examine whether they are not adulterated or deficient in weight[h].

The money of the Athenians is of three kinds. It appears that they firſt coined ſilver, and afterwards gold. It is only within this century that they have made uſe of copper for that purpoſe[i].

The ſilver coins are the moſt common. It has been found neceſſary to have them of different values, for the pay of the troops, which frequently varies; for the bounties from time to time granted to the people, and for the convenience of trade. Above the drachma*, conſiſting of ſix oboli, is the didrachm, or double drachma, and the tetradrachm, or quadruple drachma; below, are the pieces of four, three, and two oboli, after which come the obolus, and the ſemi-obolus[k] †. The latter, though of ſmall value, not being ſufficiently convenient for the dealings of the common people, copper money was coined about the beginning of the Peloponneſian war[l], and pieces of that metal

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[h] Theocr. ibid. Lyſias in Theomn. p. 179. Lucian in Hermot. t. i. p. 810. Poll. ibid. Heſych. in Αργυροῦν. et in Οβολ.

[i] Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 224.

* 18 ſols (9d.)

[k] Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 62.

† 12 ſols (6d.), 9 ſols (4½d.), 6 ſols (3d.), 3 ſols (1½d.), 18 deniers (¾d.)

[l] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 810. Id. in Ran. v. 737. Schol. et Spanh. ibid. Callim. ap. Athen. lib. 15, cap. 3, p. 669. Spanh. in Nub. Ariſtoph. v. 861. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. v. p. 219, et alii.

were ſtruck which were not worth more than the eighth part of an obolus[m] *.

The largeſt piece of gold weighs two drachmas, and is worth twenty ſilver drachmas[n] †.

Gold was very ſcarce in Greece when I firſt arrived in that country. It was brought from Lydia, and ſome other parts of Aſia Minor; from Macedonia, where the peaſants daily collected the ſmall pieces which the rains waſhed down from the neighbouring mountains[o]; and from the iſland of Thaſos, the mines of which, formerly diſcovered by the Phœnicians, ſtill exhibit proofs of the immenſe labours formerly undertaken by that induſtrious people[p].

In certain cities a part of this precious metal is employed for the fabrication of money, and almoſt every where it is uſed to make ornaments for the women, and offerings to the gods.

Two events which happened while I was in Greece rendered gold more common. Philip king of Macedon, having been informed that there were in his dominions gold-mines that had anciently been worked, but ſince abandoned, cauſed thoſe

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[m] Philem. ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 65.

* 4½ deniers (three-fourths of a farthing).

[n] Heſych. in Χρυσ.

† 18 livres (15 ſhillings).

[o] Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 105. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 1153. Strab. lib. 7, p. 331.

[p] Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 46 et 47. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 100. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

near Mount Pangæus to be opened[q]. The ſucceſs of this undertaking exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; and that prince, who before poſſeſſed no gold but a ſmall phial which he placed every night under his pillow[r], drew annually from theſe mines more than a thouſand talents[s]*. At the ſame time the Phocians carried off from the treaſure at Delphi the golden offerings which the kings of Lydia had ſent to the temple of Apollo[t], and the quantity of that metal in Greece was ſoon ſo much increaſed, that its proportion to ſilver was no longer one to thirteen, as it had been a century before[u], nor one to twelve, as it was ſome time after[x], but only one to ten[y].

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q Senec. Quæſt. Nat. lib. 5, p. 773. Strab. lib. 7, p. 331.
r Athen. lib. 6, cap. 4, p. 231.
s Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 413.
* About 1,400,000 livres (above 58,000 l.)
t Athen. ibid. p. 232. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 456.
u Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 95.
x Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 231.
y Menand. ap. Poll. lib. 9, cap. 6, § 76.

CHAP. LVI.

Of the Taxes and Finances of the Athenians.

THE revenues of the republic of Athens have ſometimes amounted to the ſum of two thouſand talents[z] *: and theſe revenues are of two kinds; thoſe which are raiſed in the country itſelf, and thoſe that are drawn from the tributary cities and ſtates.

In the firſt claſs are to be enumerated, 1ſt. The product of the houſes, lands, and woods appertaining to the republic, and which it farms out for a certain ſum[a].

2d. The twenty-fourth which it reſerves to itſelf from the ſilver mines when permiſſion to work them is granted to individuals[b].

3d. The annual tribute received from freedmen and the ten thouſand foreigners ſettled in Attica[c].

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[z] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 685.

* 10,800,000 livres (450,000l.)

[a] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 12. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 926. Demoſth. in Eubulid. p. 891.

[b] Suid. in Αργάφ. μετάλ.

[c] Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ.

4th. The fines and confiſcations, the greater of which go to the treaſury of the ſtate[c].

5th. The fifth levied on the corn and other merchandize imported[d], as alſo on ſeveral commodities which are exported from the Piræus[e] *.

6th. A number of other taxes of leſs importance[f], ſuch as thoſe paid by certain commodities expoſed to ſale in the market[g], and that levied on ſuch as keep courteſans in their houſes[h].

The greater part of theſe duties are farmed. They are put up by auction, in a public place, in the preſence of ten magiſtrates, who receive the different offers, and aſſign them to the beſt bidder[i]. I once had the curioſity to be preſent at a meeting of this kind, and obſerved the conduct of the ſeveral competitors. Some endeavoured to deter their rivals by threats, others to ſooth them with promiſes, while others diſſembled their union under the appearances of hatred. After ſome offers and ſlow advances, the farm was about to be continued

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[c] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791. Id. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 392.

[d] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Lacrit. p. 952. Etymol. Magn. in Πεντηκοστη.

[e] Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Caſaub. ibid. p. 160. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. v. 106.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[f] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 809. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 10, § 132.

[g] Demoſth. in Eubulid. p. 887.

[h] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 278. Poll. lib. 7, cap. 33, § 202; lib. 9, cap. 5, § 29.

[i] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 99.

to thoſe who had before held it, when a ſtranger bid another talent. The alarm was immediately ſpread among them. They demanded that he ſhould give ſecurities, for this is a neceſſary condition. He gave them; and as they could no longer invent any objection, they entered into a ſecret negociation with him, and ended by aſſociating him with themſelves[k].

The farmers of the duties muſt, before the ninth month of the year, remit the ſum ſtipulated to the receivers of the revenue. When they fail in their engagements they are thrown into priſon, condemned to pay double, and deprived of a part of the privileges of citizens, till they have diſcharged the debts due to the ſtate. Their ſecurities are expoſed to the ſame penalties[l].

The ſecond and principal branch of the revenues of the ſtate conſiſts in the tributes which are paid by a number of cities and iſlands dependent on it[m]. Its claims of this kind are founded on the abuſe of power. After the battle of Platæa[n], the conquerors having reſolved to revenge on Perſia the inſults offered to Greece, the inhabitants of the iſlands who had entered into the league

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[k] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 17. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.
[l] Ulpian. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 812.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 705.
[n] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 19 et 96. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333. Nep. in Ariſtid. cap. 3. Pauſan. lib. 8, p. 705.

agreed to ſet apart every year a conſiderable ſum to defray the expences of the war. The Athenians, who were to receive the money, collected, in different places, four hundred and ſixty talents*, which they kept untouched ſo long as they had not a decided ſuperiority; but when their power increaſed, they changed the gratuitous contributions of the allied cities into an humiliating exaction, impoſing on ſome the obligation to furniſh ſhips whenever they ſhould be called on[o], and demanding of others the annual tribute to which they had formerly ſubjected themſelves. They taxed their new conqueſts in the ſame manner, and the ſum-total of the foreign contributions amounted, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, to ſix hundred talents[p] †, and towards the middle of the ſame war, to twelve or thirteen hundred[q]. During my ſtay in Greece the conqueſts of Philip had reduced this ſum to four hundred talents, but the Athenians flattered themſelves they ſhould again be able one day to advance it to twelve hundred[r] ‡.

Theſe revenues, conſiderable as they are, are not

* 2,484,000 livres (103,500l.)

[o] Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 85; lib. 7, cap. 57.

[p] Id. lib. 2, cap. 13. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.

† 3,240,000 livres (135,000l.)

[q] Andocid. de Pace, p. 24. Plut. ibid.

[r] Plut. t. ii. p. 842.

‡ 6,480,000 livres (270,000l.) See note at the end of the volume.

ſufficient to defray the expences of the ſtate[s]; recourſe is frequently obliged to be had to free gifts and forced contributions.

Sometimes the ſenate declares to the general aſſembly the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate; on hearing which ſome endeavour to make their eſcape, and others keep a profound ſilence, while the reproaches of the people force them to bluſh either for their avarice or their poverty. At length others declare aloud the ſum they are willing to contribute to the ſervice of the republic, and receive ſuch applauſes that the merit of their generoſity may be doubted[t].

Sometimes each of the ten tribes, and all the citizens that compoſe it, are taxed in proportion to their property; ſo that an individual who has poſſeſſions within the diſtricts of different tribes muſt pay in ſeveral places[u]. The collection of this tax is often attended with great difficulties. At firſt the perſon who failed in his payment might be impriſoned, but this practice was aboliſhed, as contrary to the nature of the government. In general, time is allowed, and when that is expired, the goods are ſeized and ſold by auction[x].

Of all the branches of public expenditure, the

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[s] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 788.

[t] Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Caſaub. ibid. p. 155. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

[u] Demoſth. in Polycl. p. 1085.

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3, cap. 18. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 705 et 707. Id. in Timocr. p. 798.

maintenance of the navy is certainly the moſt heavy. It is not long ſince two or three rich individuals fitted out a galley at their joint expence[y]. A law was afterwards enacted, that ſtill ſubſiſted at the time of my arrival in Greece, which, according to the number of the tribes, divided into ten claſſes, of a hundred and twenty perſons each, all the citizens who poſſeſſed land, manufactories, or money employed in trade, or placed in the hands of bankers. As theſe divided among them almoſt all the riches of Attica, they were obliged to pay all the taxes, and eſpecially to maintain and increaſe, in caſe of need, the naval force of the republic. Each of them being only obliged to furniſh his contingent every other year[z], the twelve hundred perſons liable to contribute were ſubdivided into two great claſſes of ſix hundred each, of which three hundred were richer than the other three hundred. The former were anſwerable for the latter, and made advances in caſes of emergence[a].

When an armament was to be fitted out, each of the ten tribes levied in its diſtrict the ſame number of talents as there were galleys to be equipped, and demanded them from the ſame

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[y] Lyſ. in Polyeuch. p. 327. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.

[z] Iſæus de Succeſſ. Apollod. p. 67. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 542. Id. in Polycl. paſſim. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 274.

[a] Demoſth. de Claſſ. p. 135. Id. in Phœnip. p. 1023. Ulpian. in Olynth. 2, p. 33.

number of companies, compoſed ſometimes of ſixteen perſons liable to contribute[b]. Theſe ſums when collected were diſtributed to the trierarchs, or captains of the ſhips[c], two of which were appointed to each galley, and ſerved ſix months each[d]. They were to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the crew[e], for, in general, the republic only furniſhed the rigging and ſailors[f].

The arrangement which I have deſcribed was defective, ſince it too much retarded the operations, and becauſe, without having regard to the inequality of fortunes, thoſe who were richeſt ſometimes did not contribute more than one-ſixteenth part to the fitting out of a galley. Towards the latter years of my ſtay in Greece, Demoſthenes procured another decree to be paſſed, which renders the collection of this tax more eaſy and equitable; the ſubſtance of it was as follows:

Every citizen whoſe fortune amounts to ten talents muſt, in caſe of need, furniſh the ſtate with a galley; if he poſſeſſes twenty talents, he ſhall furniſh two; but however rich he may be, no more ſhall be required of him than three galleys and a ſhallop. Thoſe whoſe ſubſtance is leſs than ten talents ſhall join to contribute a galley[g].

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[b] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 490.
[c] Id. in Mid. p. 628. Ulpian. ibid. p. 682.
[d] Id. in Polycl. p. 1089 et 1093, &c.
[e] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.
[f] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.
[g] Id. de Cor. p. 490.

This tax, from which the archons alone are exempted[h], is proportioned, as much as poſſible, to the abilities of the citizens; the weight of it always falls on thoſe who are the wealthieſt, and it is founded on the principle that taxes ought not to be laid on the perſon, but the property[i].

As the fortunes of ſome perſons may increaſe while thoſe of others diminiſh, Demoſthenes ſuffered the law of exchanges to ſubſiſt. Every year the magiſtrates who have the adminiſtration of the marine department permit every contributor to give information againſt any perſon who is leſs taxed than himſelf, though he has become, or may always have been, more wealthy. If the perſon indicated admits the augmentation or ſuperiority of his fortune, he is ſubſtituted for the informant in the liſt of contributors; if he does not admit it, a trial is had, and he is frequently obliged to exchange his property for that of his accuſer[k].

The appointments granted to the commanders of the galleys, either by the government or their reſpective tribes, would be inſufficient did not their zeal and emulation ſupply the defect. As it is to their intereſt to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their rivals, many of them ſpare no expence to procure the beſt ſhips and ſailors[l], and others increaſe, at

[h] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 540.
[i] Id. in Androt. p. 707.
[k] Id. in Philipp. 1, p. 52. Id. in Phœnip. p. 1023 et 1027.
[l] Id. in Polycl. p. 1084.

their own expence, the pay of their men, which is commonly fixed at three oboli a day *.

This emulation, excited by the hope of honours and rewards [m], is extremely beneficial in a ſtate in which every war neceſſarily exhauſts the public treaſury, and intercepts the revenues. So long as the war continues, the tributary cities and iſlands, inceſſantly menaced or ſubjugated by the enemy, are unable to ſend any ſuccours to the republic, and even neceſſitated to have recourſe to it for aſſiſtance. In theſe critical circumſtances its fleets carry deſolation to diſtant coaſts, and ſometimes return loaded with plunder. When they are able to make themſelves maſters of the ſtrait of the Helleſpont [n], they exact from all the veſſels which trade to the Euxine ſea the tenth of the merchandize they carry, and this reſource has more than once ſaved the ſtate.

The obligation to furniſh ſhips and contributions in money ceaſes with the war, but it is cuſtomary for the rich citizens to give entertainments on certain days to their fellow citizens of the ſame tribe, to contribute to the ſupport of the gymnaſia, and to procure, for the public games, choruſes to diſpute the prize in dancing and muſic [o]. Some

* 9 ſols (4½d.)

[m] Lyſ. in Mun. Accept. Def. p. 378.

[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1, p. 430. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 549.

[o] Lyſ. in Mun. Defenſ. p. 374. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 605 et 628. Argum. ejuſd. Orat. p. 601. Harpocr. in Ἐγκύκ.

voluntarily undertake to defray theſe expences; others are appointed by the choice of their tribe, and cannot refuſe unleſs they have obtained an exemption by ſervices which they have rendered the ſtate[p]. Both have claims to the favour of the people, who indemnify, by employments and honours, thoſe who have ruined themſelves to give ſplendour to their feſtivals.

Several companies of officers elected by the people are appointed to inſpect the adminiſtration of the finances, and each of the ten tribes names an officer to the greater part of theſe companies. Some of them[q] grant the farms of the duties on importation, deliver out, at a certain rate, the permiſſions for the working of mines, preſide at the ſale of confiſcated goods, &c. Others enter in a regiſter the ſum that each citizen muſt contribute in caſes of urgent neceſſity[r].

The different ſpecies of revenues are depoſited in ſo many different treaſuries, which are each in particular under the management of ten receivers or treaſurers, with whom the ſenate regulates the deſtination of the ſums received[s], conformably to the decrees of the people, and in preſence of

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[p] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 545, &c.
[q] Harpocr. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 99.
[r] Harpocr. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἐπισ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 103.
[s] Harpocr. in Ἀποδέκτ. et in Ἑλληνοτ. Suid. in Ἀποδέκτ. Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9. § 97, &c.

two

two comptrollers, who keep a regiſter, the one in the name of the ſenate, and the other in behalf of the adminiſtrators [t].

The receivers of the public money keep liſts of the ſums in which the citizens are reſpectively taxed [u]. They efface, in the preſence of the ſenate, the names of thoſe who have paid, and lodge an information before one of the tribunals againſt thoſe who have not. The tribunal names inquiſitors [x], who are appointed to proſecute the latter in due courſe of law, and who proceed, in caſe payment is refuſed, even to the confiſcation of their goods. Recourſe however is only had to the tribunals in caſes of importance; on other occaſions it is left to the receivers to terminate the diſputes which ariſe in their department [y].

The receivers into whoſe hands fines are paid poſſeſs the ſingular right of reviſing the ſentences of the judges, in the firſt inſtance, and moderating or remitting the fine if they think it too heavy [z].

The expences relative to the war, and all the parts of the adminiſtration, are aſſigned on the different treaſuries of which I have juſt ſpoken. In time of war the laws direct that the ſurplus of

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[t] Harpocr. in Αστιγρ.
[u] Id. et Suid. in Αποδέκτ. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6, cap. 8.
[x] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 775.
[y] Poll. lib. 8, cap. 9, § 97.
[z] Lyſ. pro Milit. p. 163 et 165. Poll. ibid.

the other treaſuries ſhall be paid into the military[a]; but a decree of the people is neceſſary to change the order of the aſſignations.

Every year conſiderable ſums are depoſited in a treaſury ſuperintended by particular officers, which are to be publicly diſtributed to enable the poorer citizens to pay for their places at the public ſhews[b]. The people will not ſuffer this money to be touched; and we have ſeen them, in our time, decree that the puniſhment of death ſhould be inflicted on the orator who ſhould propoſe to employ it in the ſervice of the ſtate when exhauſted by a long war[c]. The annals of nations do not afford a ſecond example of ſuch madneſs.

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[a] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 861.
[b] Harpocr. in Θεωρ.
[c] Ulpian. in Olynth. 1, p. 13. Liban. Argum. ejuſd. Orat.

CHAP. LVII.

Continuation of the Library.—Logic.

BEFORE my journey through the provinces of Greece, I had paſſed ſeveral days in the library of Euclid; and, on my return to Athens, I renewed my viſits.

He ſhewed me, on ſome ranges of ſhelves, the works which treat on logic and rhetoric, placed beſide each other, becauſe theſe two ſciences are intimately connected[d]. There are but few of them, ſaid he, for it is only within about a century that attempts have been made to inveſtigate the arts of thinking and ſpeaking. We are indebted for them to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, and they were the fruit of that impulſe which the philoſophy of Pythagoras gave to the human mind.

In juſtice to Zeno of Elea, we ought not to forget that he firſt publiſhed an eſſay on logic[e]; but in honour of Ariſtotle it is our duty to add,

[d] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 512. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7, p. 370.

[e] Diogen. Laert. in Proœm. § 18. Ariſt. ap. eumd. lib. 8, § 37; lib. 9, § 25.

that he brought the methods of reaſoning to ſuch perfection that he may be conſidered as the inventor of the art[f].

Habit teaches us to compare two or more ideas in order to diſcover and ſhew to others their connection or oppoſition. This is natural logic, and would be ſufficient for a people which, deprived of the faculty of generalizing their ideas, ſhould only ſee, in nature and civil life, individual objects. They would be frequently deceived in their principles, becauſe they would be very ignorant; but their conſequences would be juſt, becauſe their notions would be clear, and always expreſſed by the proper words.

But among enlightened nations, the human mind, by exerciſing itſelf in generals and abſtractions, has created an ideal world, of which it is perhaps as difficult to acquire a knowledge as of the natural. To the aſtoniſhing number of perceptions received by the ſenſes is added the prodigious multitude of combinations formed by the mind, the fecundity of which is ſo great that it is impoſſible to aſſign it limits.

If we likewiſe conſider that among the objects of our thoughts a very great number have ſenſible relations which ſeem to identify them, and ſlight differences which in effect diſtinguiſh them, we

[f] Ariſtot. Sophiſt. Elench. cap. 34, t. i. p. 314.

ſhall admire the courage and ſagacity of thoſe who firſt formed and executed the deſign of reducing to order and arranging the ideas which men had till then conceived, and which they might conceive in time to come.

This is, perhaps, one of the ſublimeſt efforts of the human mind; it is at leaſt one of the greateſt diſcoveries of which the Greeks can boaſt. We have received from the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and perhaps from ſome more remote nation, the elements of almoſt every ſcience and every art; but poſterity ſhall be indebted to us for that method, the happy artifice of which ſubjects reaſoning to rules. Let us proceed to caſt a rapid glance over its principal parts.

There are things which we are contented with indicating, without denying or affirming any thing concerning them. Thus I ſay *a man*, *a horſe*, *a two-footed animal*; there are others that are ſignified by words which contain an affirmation or negation.

However numerous the former may be, ten claſſes have been invented into which they may be diſtributed; one containing the ſubſtance, and the other its modes. To the firſt of theſe are referred all ſubſtances, as *man*, *horſe*, &c.[g]; to the ſecond the quantity of whatever nature it may be, as the number, the time, the extent, &c.[h]; to

[g] Ariſtot. Categ. cap. 4, t. i. p. 15.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 6.

the third the quality; and under this name are compriſed, 1ſt. The habits, ſuch as the virtues and the ſciences; 2d. The natural diſpoſitions which render one man more apt than another to certain exerciſes; 3d. Senſible qualities, as *ſweetneſs*, *bitterneſs*, *cold*, *heat*, *colours*; 4th. The form or figure, as *round*, *ſquare*[i], &c.

The other claſſes contain the different kinds of relations, actions, ſituations, poſſeſſions, &c. in ſuch a manner that theſe ten claſſes compriſe all beings and manners of being. They are named categories, or attributes, becauſe nothing can be attributed to any ſubject which is not ſubſtance, or quality, or quantity, &c.

To have reduced the objects of our thoughts to ſo ſmall a number of claſſes was to have effected much, but more ſtill remained to be done. If we attentively examine each category, we ſhall ſoon perceive that it is ſuſceptible of a multitude of ſubdiviſions, which we conceive as ſubordinate one to the other: let us explain this by an example drawn from the firſt category.

In infancy the mind only ſees and conceives individual objects*; we ſtill call them firſt ſubſtances[k], either becauſe they firſt attract our

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[i] Ariſtot. Categ. cap. 8, p. 26.

* Individuals are called in Greek *atoms* or indiviſibles. Ariſtot. Categ. cap. 2, p. 15.

[k] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 5, t. i. p. 16.

notice, or becauſe they are in effect the moſt real ſubſtances.

But, in time, thoſe objects which have the moſt ſtriking reſemblance, preſenting themſelves to us with a ſameneſs of form and appearance, we diſtribute them into ſeveral diſtinct claſſes[l]; thus from the ideas of ſuch and ſuch a man, and ſuch and ſuch a horſe, we have formed the ſpecific idea of a man and a horſe.

As the different branches of the ſame family aſcend to one common origin, in like manner various ſpecies which approach each other by ſtrong marks of conformity, are ranged under one genus, or kind[m]. Thus, from the ſpecific ideas of a man, a horſe, an ox, and all beings which poſſeſs life and feeling, is conſtituted the generical idea of an animal, or living being, for theſe expreſſions in our language mean the ſame thing. Above this genus we conceive others more univerſal, ſuch as *ſubſtance*, till at length we arrive at the principal of all, which is *being*.

In this ſcale, in which Being occupies the higheſt place, and by which we deſcend to individuals, each intermediary degree may be genus with regard to that below, and ſpecies with reſpect to that above it.

Philoſophers have employed themſelves to in-

[l] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 9, cap. 7, t. i. p. 184.
[m] Id. Metaph. lib. 5, cap. 28, t. ii. p. 901.

vent ſimilar ſyſtems of affinity and gradation for all the objects in nature or perceptions of the mind; they enable them more eaſily to follow the generations of ideas, and to go through the different claſſes, from rank to rank, as a general reviews his army[o]. Sometimes, conſidering the genus as *unity*, or *finitude*, the ſpecies as *plurality*, and the individuals as *infinitude*, they diſcuſs various queſtions on the nature of finitude and infinitude, unity and plurality; queſtions which then only turn on the nature of the genus, the ſpecies, and individuals[p].

Each ſpecies is diſtinguiſhed from its genus by an eſſential attribute which characterizes it, and which is named the difference[q]. Reaſon being in man the moſt noble and incommunicable of his privileges, he is by that diſtinguiſhed from other animals*. If, therefore, we join to the generic idea of an animal the idea of reaſonable, we ſhall have the ſpecific idea of man[r]. It is no leſs difficult than important to aſcertain the differences included under the ſame genus, and thoſe of the ſpecies compriſed under genera which have affinity between themſelves. By employing ourſelves in this reſearch, we diſcover in each ſpecies properties

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[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7, t. ii. p. 534.
[p] Id. in Phileb. Id. in Parm.
[q] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 6, cap. 4, t. i. p. 245; cap. 6, p. 248.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[r] Porphyr. Iſagog. ap. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 7.

which are inherent in it, and modifications which are accidental to it.

The queſtion here is not concerning that property which is confounded with the eſſence of a thing, but that by which it may be diſtinguiſhed[s]. In this point of view it is an attribute which agrees only to the ſpecies, and originates from that principal attribute which we have named the difference. Man is capable of learning certain ſciences; this is one of his properties; it ariſes from his faculty of reaſon, and agrees only to his ſpecies. His capacity of ſleeping, or that of moving his body, cannot be properties, ſince he poſſeſſes them in common with other animals[t].

The accident is a mode, an attribute, which the mind eaſily ſeparates from the thing. *To be ſeated* is an accident to a man, and *whiteneſs* to a body[u].

The ideas of which we have hitherto ſpoken, not being accompanied either by affirmation or negation, are neither true nor falſe[x]. Let us now proceed to thoſe which may receive one of theſe characters.

An enunciation is a propoſition by which ſome-

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[s] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 4 et 5.
[t] Id. ibid. et lib. 5, cap. 3, p. 230.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 5, p. 183.
[x] Id. de Interpr. cap. 1, t. i. p. 37.

thing is affirmed or denied[y]. The enunciation, therefore, is alone ſuſceptible of truth or falſehood. The other forms of diſcourſe, as prayer, or command, contain neither of theſe.

In every enunciation ſeveral ideas are united or ſeparated. In it is diſtinguiſhed the ſubject, the verb, and the attribute. In this, for example, *Socrates is wiſe*; *Socrates* is the ſubject, *is* the verb, and *wiſe* the attribute.

The ſubject ſignifies that which is placed beneath, and is ſo called becauſe it expreſſes the thing ſpoken of, which is ſubmitted to the attention; or, perhaps, becauſe being leſs univerſal than the attributes which it is to receive, it is in ſome meaſure ſubordinate to them[z].

The ſubject expreſſes ſometimes an idea which is univerſal and agrees to many individuals, as thoſe of man and animal; and ſometimes a particular idea which can only agree to one individual, as thoſe of Callias and Socrates[a]. According as it is univerſal or particular, the enunciation in which it is contained is alſo univerſal or particular.

That a univerſal ſubject may be taken in its whole extent, the words *all* or *none* muſt be joined with it. The word *man* is a univerſal term. If I

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y Ariſtot. de Interpr. cap. 4 et 5.
z Ariſtot. Categ. cap. 5, t. i. p. 17.
a Id. de Interpr. cap. 7, t. i. p. 39.

ſay *every man*, or *no man*, I take it in its utmoſt extent. If I ſay *ſome man*, I reſtrain its univerſality.

The verb is a ſign which declares that ſuch an attribute agrees to ſuch a ſubject[b]. It was requiſite to connect them, and this is effected by the verb *to be*, always expreſſed or underſtood: I ſay underſtood, becauſe it is implied when other verbs are uſed; for inſtance, the words *I go*, ſignify *I am going*[c].

With reſpect to the attribute, we have already ſeen that it is taken from one of the categories which compriſe all the different kinds of attributes[d].

Thus the judgments we form are only operations of the mind by which we affirm or deny one thing of another; or rather they are only glances of the mental eye which perceives that ſuch a property or ſuch a quality may be attributed or not attributed to ſuch an object; for the underſtanding which makes this diſcovery is to the ſoul what the ſight is to the eye[e].

Enunciations are of different kinds; we will ſay a word of thoſe which, employed on the ſame ſubject, are oppoſed to each other by affirmation or negation. It ſhould ſeem that the truth of the

[b] Ariſtot. de Interpr. cap. 3, p. 37.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 46.
[d] Id. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. i. p. 185.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 17, p. 192.

one muſt eſtabliſh the falſehood of the other; but this rule cannot be general, becauſe the oppoſition between them is of different kinds.

If in both the ſubject is univerſal, and taken in its utmoſt extent, the two enunciations are called contrary, and may be both falſe[f]; as, for example, *all men are white*; *no man is white.* If it is limited in the one, and in the other not, they are then named contradictory, and the one is true and the other falſe; as, for inſtance, *all men are white*; *ſome men are not white:* or, *no man is white*; *ſome men are white.* The oppoſition of particular enunciations is the ſame as that of the contradictory, and the one muſt neceſſarily be true and the other falſe; as, *Socrates is white*; *Socrates is not white*[g].

Two particular propoſitions, the one affirmative and the other negative, are not, properly ſpeaking, oppoſed to each other; the oppoſition lies only in the terms. When I ſay, *ſome men are juſt*; *ſome men are not juſt*; I do not ſpeak of the ſame men[h].

The preceding notions, and a great number of others which I paſs over in ſilence, were the fruit of a long ſeries of obſervations. It was however eaſy to diſcover that the greater part of our errors

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[f] Ariſtot. de Interpr. cap. 7, t. i. p. 39.
[g] Id. Categ. cap. 10, t. i. p. 33. Id. de Interpr. cap. 7, t. i. p. 40.
[h] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 15, t. i. p. 117.

originate in the uncertainty of our ideas, and their repreſentative ſigns. Unacquainted with external objects, except from the information of our ſenſes, we often confound their nature with their qualities and accidents. As to intellectual objects, they excite in the generality of minds only obſcure, vague, and tranſient images. The confuſion is ſtill more increaſed by that multitude of equivocal and metaphorical words with which all languages abound, and eſpecially by the great number of univerſal terms which we employ, frequently without underſtanding them.

Meditation alone can bring near to us the objects which this obſcurity ſeems to remove from us. Thus the only difference between an enlightened and an ignorant mind is, that the one views objects at a proper diſtance, while the other only ſees them afar off[i].

Happily men have only occaſion for a certain analogy in ideas, and a certain approximation in language, to fulfil their duties in ſociety. In the communication of ideas, diſcerning minds traffic with good money, of the preciſe value and fineneſs of which they are often ignorant; and the reſt with counterfeit coin, which is nevertheleſs received without ſcruple in trade.

The philoſopher ought to employ the moſt

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[i] Ariſtot. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 281.

uſual expreſſions[k], but, carefully diſtinguiſhing their acceptations, when they have many, he ſhould determine the preciſe idea which he annexes to each word.

To define a thing is to make known its nature by characters which will not ſuffer us to confound it with any other thing[l]. Formerly no rules had been laid down to arrive at or aſcertain this exactneſs. They were eſtabliſhed by obſerving that there can be but one good definition for each thing[m]; that ſuch a definition ought to agree only with the thing defined[n]; that it ought to compriſe in it all that is contained in the idea of the thing defined[o]; that it ought to extend to all beings of the ſame ſpecies, as that of man, for example, to all men[p]; that it ſhould be conciſe, every word which may be omitted is ſuperfluous[q]; that it ſhould be clear, and that conſequently no words ſhould be employed that are equivocal, figurative, or ſeldom uſed[r]; and that to underſtand it, it ought not to be neceſſary to have recourſe to the thing defined, ſince it would otherwiſe reſemble the figures in old pictures, which

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[k] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 2, cap. 2, t. i. p. 196.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 5, t. i. p. 182.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 14, t. i. p. 260.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 5, p. 264.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6, cap. 5, p. 247.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 1, p. 241.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 3, p. 243.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 242.

were not to be known but by their names written under them[s].

But in what manner may theſe conditions be fulfilled? We have ſpoken above of thoſe ſcales of ideas which lead us from individuals to being in general. We have ſeen that each ſpecies has immediately above it a genus, from which it is diſtinguiſhed by the difference. An exact definition will be compoſed of the immediate genus, and the difference of the thing defined[t], and by conſequence will compriſe its two principal attributes. I define man a reaſonable animal[u]. The genus, *animal*, connects man with all living beings; and the difference, *reaſonable*, diſtinguiſhes him from them.

It hence follows, that a definition points out the reſemblance of ſeveral different things by the genus, and diſtinguiſhes them by the difference. Nothing therefore is of more importance than to diſcern this reſemblance and diverſity, when we exerciſe ourſelves in the art of thinking and reaſoning[x].

I omit a number of very acute remarks on the nature of the genus and the difference, as alſo on the various kinds of propoſitions uſually employed in reaſoning. As I mean only to give ſome eſſays

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[s] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 243.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 8, p. 185; lib. 6, cap. 1, p. 242.
[u] Id. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 6, p. 24.
[x] Id, Topic. lib. 1, cap. 13, 16, et 17.

on the progreſs of the human mind, it will not be requiſite that I ſhould collect all the traces of light it has left in its path; but the diſcovery of the ſyllogiſm deſerves that we ſhould beſtow on it our attention for a moment.

We have ſaid that, in this propoſition, *Socrates is wiſe*, *Socrates* is the ſubject, *wiſe* the attribute; and that, by the ſubſtantive verb which connects them, it is affirmed that the idea of wiſe agrees to the idea of Socrates.

But how are we to be convinced of the truth or falſehood of a propoſition, when the relation of the attribute to the ſubject is not ſufficiently apparent? This is effected by paſſing from a thing known to the thing unknown[y]; by recurring to a third idea, the double relation of which to the ſubject and attribute is more perceptible.

To make myſelf better underſtood, I ſhall only conſider the affirmative propoſition. I doubt if A be equal to B; but if I perceive that A is equal to C, and C to B, I conclude, without heſitation, that A is equal to B[z].

Thus, to prove that juſtice is a habit, it ſuffices to ſhew that juſtice is a virtue, and every virtue a habit[a]. But to give this proof a ſyllogiſtical form, let us place the word *virtue* between the ſubject

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[y] Ariſt. Metaph. lib. 7, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 909.
[z] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4, t. i. p. 54.
[a] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. ii, p. 17; cap. 4, p. 21.

and the attribute of the propoſition, and we ſhall have theſe three terms; *juſtice*, *virtue*, *habit*. That in the middle is called *the mean*, either on account of its poſition, or becauſe it ſerves as an intermediary object to compare the two others, named the *extremes* [b]. It has been demonſtrated that the mean ought to be taken univerſally at leaſt once, and that one of the propoſitions ought to be univerſal [c]. I ſhall then firſt ſay,

Every virtue is a habit:

And I ſhall afterwards ſay,

But juſtice is a virtue;
Therefore juſtice is a habit.

It hence follows, 1ſt, That a ſyllogiſm is compoſed of three terms, of which the laſt is the attribute of the ſecond, and the ſecond the attribute of the firſt [d]. In the above example *habit* is an attribute with regard to *virtue*, and *virtue* an attribute with reſpect to *juſtice*.

The attribute being always taken from one of the categories, or from the ſeries of beings which compoſe them, the relations of the mean to both the extremes will be ſometimes the relations of ſubſtances, qualities, quantities, &c. and ſometimes

[b] Ariſtot. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4, t. i. p. 54.
[c] Id. Topic. lib. 8, cap. 1, t. i. p. 267; cap. 14, p. 280.
[d] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4, t. i. p. 54.

the relations of genera, ſpecies, properties, &c[e]. In the preceding example they are thoſe of genera and ſpecies; for *habit* is a genus relatively to *virtue*, and *virtue* relatively to *juſtice*. But it is certain that whatever is true of a ſuperior genus, muſt be true of all the genera and ſpecies in the deſcending line[f].

It follows, 2dly, That a ſyllogiſm is compoſed of three propoſitions. In the two firſt the mean is compared with each of the extremes, and in the third a concluſion is drawn that one of the extremes muſt be the attribute of the other, which was to be proved.

It follows, 3dly, That a ſyllogiſm is a reaſoning in which, by making certain aſſertions, we obtain another different from the firſt[g].

The various combinations of the three terms produce different kinds of ſyllogiſms, the greater part of which may be reduced to that we have propoſed as an example[h].

The concluſions likewiſe vary according as the propoſitions are affirmative or negative, and according as more or leſs univerſality is given to them and to the terms; and hence a number of

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[e] Ariſtot. Top. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. i. p. 185.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 4, cap. 1, t. i. p. 213; lib. 6, cap. 5. p. 247.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 180. Id. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 281.
[h] Id. Analyt. Prior. lib. 1, cap. 7, t. i. p. 60.

rules have been invented which diſcover, at the firſt view, the accuracy or defect of an argument.

Inductions and examples are employed to perſuade the multitude, and ſyllogiſms to convince philoſophers[i]. Nothing is ſo powerful and irreſiſtible as a concluſion drawn from two truths which an opponent is compelled to admit[k].

This ingenious mechaniſm is only the development of the operations of the mind. It had been obſerved that, except firſt principles, which convince of themſelves[l], all our aſſertions are only concluſions, and that they are founded on an act of reaſoning which the mind performs with aſtoniſhing celerity. When I ſay *juſtice is a habit*, I mentally form the ſyllogiſm which I have given at length above.

Sometimes one of the two propoſitions which it is eaſy to ſupply is ſuppreſſed, in which caſe the ſyllogiſm is called an enthymem, and though imperfect[m] is not leſs concluſive; as, for example, *Every virtue is a habit, therefore juſtice is a habit*; or, *Juſtice is a virtue, therefore it is a habit*. I ſhall eaſily arrive at the ſame concluſion if I only ſay, *Since juſtice is a virtue, it is a habit*; or, *Juſtice is a habit, ſince every virtue is a habit*.

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[i] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 12, t. i. p. 188; lib. 8, cap. 2. p. 269.
[k] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75.
[l] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 180.
[m] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 32.

Such is this other example, taken from one of our poets.

Mortal, cheriſh not an immortal hatred [n].

To change this ſentence into a ſyllogiſm, we muſt ſay: No mortal ought to cheriſh an immortal hatred; but you are mortal; therefore, &c. To make an enthymem one of the two firſt propoſitions muſt be ſuppreſſed.

Thus every ſentence, and every reflection, whether it carries its proof with it, or ſhews itſelf without that ſupport, is a real ſyllogiſm; with this difference, that in the former caſe the proof is the mean that connects or ſeparates the attribute from the ſubject, and that in the latter the mean muſt be ſupplied.

Philoſophers, by ſtudying attentively the connection of our ideas, have diſcovered the art of rendering the proofs of our reaſonings more evident, and completing and claſſing the imperfect ſyllogiſms which we inceſſantly employ. It is eaſily perceived that to ſucceed in ſuch an attempt muſt require an unwearied conſtancy, and that obſerving genius which indeed invents nothing, becauſe it adds nothing to nature, but which diſcovers what has eſcaped ordinary minds.

Every demonſtration is a ſyllogiſm, but every ſyllogiſm is not a demonſtration [o]. A ſyllogiſm

[n] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 21, t. ii. p. 571.
[o] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4, t. i. p. 54.

is demonſtrative, when it is eſtabliſhed on firſt principles, or on thoſe which immediately reſult from them; it is dialectic, when it is founded on opinions which appear probable to all men, or at leaſt to thoſe of the moſt enlarged underſtandings[p]; and it is captious, when it concludes from propoſitions which it is wiſhed to make paſs for probable when they are not ſo.

The firſt furniſhes weapons to philoſophers, who ſearch after truth; the ſecond to dialecticians, who are often obliged to content themſelves with the probable; and the third to ſophiſts, to whom the ſmalleſt reſemblance of proof ſuffices[q].

As we more frequently reaſon from opinions than from certain principles, young perſons early apply themſelves to dialectics, which is the name given to logic when it draws its concluſions only from probabilities[r]. By propoſing to them problems and theſes[s] in phyſics, morals, and logic[t], we accuſtom them to try their ſtrength on different ſubjects, to weigh conjectures, alternately to ſupport oppoſite opinions[u], and to employ ſophiſtry that they may become acquainted with its artifices.

As our diſputes frequently ariſe from this, that

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[p] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 180.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 14, t. i. p. 189. Id. Sophiſt. Elench. cap. 1, p. 282. Id. Metaph. lib. 4, t. ii. p. 871.
[r] Id. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. i. p. 181.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 187.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 14, p. 189.
[u] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 514.

ſome perſons, ſeduced by example, deal too much in generals; while others, miſled by contrary examples, run into the oppoſite extreme: the former teach us that we ought not to conclude from the particular to the general [x], and the latter that an exception does not deſtroy the rule.

The ſubject in diſpute is ſometimes diſcuſſed by queſtions and anſwers [y]. As the object of the queſtion is to elucidate a doubt, and direct the dawning reaſon, its ſolution ought neither to be too evident, nor too difficult [z].

We ought carefully to ſhun maintaining theſes ſo improbable that the defender of them muſt quickly be reduced to abſurd conſequences [a]; as alſo the diſcuſſion of ſubjects concerning which it is dangerous to doubt; as, whether the gods ought to be honoured, and whether it is our duty to love our parents [b].

Though it may be to be feared that minds thus habituated to a rigorous preciſion ſhould ever after preſerve an inclination to it, and even join with it the love of contradiction; it is no leſs true that they poſſeſs a real advantage over others. In the acquiſition of the ſciences they will be more diſpoſed to doubt, and in their intercourſe with the world better able to diſcover the defect of an argument.

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[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 517.
[y] Id. Topic. lib. 8, cap. 1. t. i. p. 268.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. i. p. 187.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 8, cap. 9, t. i. p. 275.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 11, t. i. p. 187.

CHAP. LVIII.

Continuation of the Library. Rhetoric.

WHILST the edifice of logic was laboriouſly erecting, continued Euclid, that of rhetoric roſe by its ſide, leſs ſolid it is true, but more elegant and more magnificent.

The former, replied I, might be neceſſary; but I do not conceive the utility of the latter. Did not eloquence before exerciſe her power over the nations of Greece, and even in the heroic ages diſpute the prize with valour[c]? Is not every beauty to be found in the writings of Homer, who ought to be conſidered as the firſt of orators, as well as the firſt of poets[d]? and are they not alſo to be found in the writings of thoſe men of genius who have followed in his footſteps? When we have ſo many examples, of what uſe are ſo many precepts? It is neceſſary, replied Euclid, to make a ſelection of theſe examples. I anſwered: Were Piſiſtratus, Solon, and thoſe orators who, in the aſſemblies of

[c] Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 10, t. i. p. 344.
[d] Hermog. de id. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. i. p. 140.

the people and the tribunals of juſtice, employed only the perſuaſive language of a natural eloquence, miſtaken in their choice? Why ſhould we ſubſtitute the art of ſpeaking to the genius of oratory?

That art, replied Euclid, is only intended to reſtrain the too irregular flights of genius, and to oblige it by reſtriction to concentrate its powers. You doubt of the advantages to be derived from rhetoric; yet you know that Ariſtotle, though prejudiced againſt the art of oratory[e], nevertheleſs allowed that it might be uſeful[f]! You doubt of them, yet you have heard Demoſthenes! Demoſthenes, anſwered I, without the leſſons of his maſters, would always have ſwayed at will the minds of his hearers. Æſchines, perhaps, without the aſſiſtance of his, would not have expreſſed himſelf with ſo much elegance. You grant then, replied Euclid, that art may give to genius a more pleaſing form; I will be equally ſincere, and allow that this is nearly all its merit.

Then, approaching the ſhelves, Here, ſaid he, are the authors that have given us precepts, and alſo thoſe that have furniſhed us with examples of eloquence. They almoſt all lived in the laſt or preſent century. Among the former are Corax of

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[e] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 38, t. i. p. 229.
[f] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 514.

Syracuſe, Tiſias, Thraſymachus, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, Theodorus, Evenus, Calippus, &c.: among the latter, thoſe who are deſervedly held in great eſtimation, as Lyſias, Antiphon, Andocides, Iſæus, Calliſtratus, Iſocrates, and thoſe who begin illuſtriouſly to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as Demoſthenes, Æſchines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, &c.

I have read the works of your orators, replied I, but I am unacquainted with thoſe of the rhetoricians. In our preceding converſations you have deigned to inſtruct me in the progreſs and preſent ſtate of ſeveral branches of literature; may I venture to requeſt from you the ſame obliging condeſcenſion with reſpect to rhetoric?

The progreſs of the exact ſciences, anſwered Euclid, may be eaſily known; becauſe, as they have but one way to arrive at the end they propoſe, we perceive at a ſingle glance the point from which they ſet out, and that to which they tend. But it is not the ſame with the arts of imagination; the taſte which judges of them being arbitrary, the object they propoſe frequently indeterminate[g], and the track they purſue divided into ſeveral paths extremely near to each other, it is impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to aſcertain their efforts and their ſucceſs. How indeed

[g] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 514.

may we diſcover the firſt ſteps of genius, and follow it, with the rule in hand, in its gigantic ſtrides? How alſo may we be able to ſeparate the light from the falſe ſplendors which ſurround it, define the tranſient graces which diſappear the moment they are analyzed, and appreciate, in fine, that ſupreme beauty which in each kind conſtitutes its perfection[h]? I ſhall, ſince you requeſt me, proceed to give you ſome remarks which may ſerve for the hiſtory of rhetoric; but on a ſubject ſo ſuſceptible of ornament, expect from me only a ſmall number of facts and common obſervations.

Our writers, for ſeveral centuries, had only ſpoken the language of poetry; that of proſe appeared to them too familiar and too limited to ſuffice for all the ideas of the mind, or rather of the imagination, for that was the faculty which was then cultivated with the greateſt care. The philoſopher Pherecydes of Syros, and the hiſtorian Cadmus of Miletus, began, about two centuries ſince, to emancipate themſelves from the rigid laws by which diction was confined[i]. Though they had opened a new and more eaſy path, it was ſtill imagined ſo difficult to forſake the old one, that we find Solon attempting to tranſlate his laws into verſe[k], and Empedocles and Parmenides

[h] Cicer. Orat. cap. 11, t. i. p. 428.

[i] Strab. lib. 1, p. 18. Plin. lib. 5, cap. 29, t. i. p. 278. Suid. in Φερεκ et in Συγγράφ.

[k] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 80.

adorning their doctrines with the charms of poetry.

The uſe of proſe, at firſt, only ſerved to multiply hiſtorians[l]. A number of writers publiſhed the annals of different nations, and their ſtyle preſents defects which the revolutions in our taſte render extremely ſenſible. It is clear and conciſe[m], but deſtitute of ornament and harmony. Short ſentences ſucceed each other without ſupport; and the eye is wearied with following them, becauſe it in vain ſeeks the connection by which they ought to be united. At other times, and eſpecially in the firſt hiſtorians, it abounds with poetical turns, or rather conſiſts wholly of fragments of verſe, the meaſure of which has been broken[n]. We continually perceive that theſe authors have had poets for their models, and that time has been neceſſary to form the ſtyle of proſe, as well as to diſcover the principles of rhetoric.

The firſt eſſays in the latter art were made in Sicily[o]. About a hundred years after the death of Cadmus, a Syracuſan, named Corax[p], collected diſciples, and compoſed a treatiſe on rhetoric ſtill

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l Dionyſ. Halic. Thucyd. ud. t. vi. p. 818.
m Id. ibid. p. 820.
n Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 12. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18.
o Ariſtot. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12, t. i. p. 345. Id. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 150. Quintil. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 141.
p Prolegom. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 5.

held in eſteem [q], though he makes the ſecret of eloquence conſiſt only in a deceitful calculation of certain probabilities. The manner in which he proceeds will be beſt ſhewn by an example. A man ſtrongly ſuſpected of having beaten another, is tried for the aſſault. He is either ſtronger or weaker than his accuſer. In the former caſe, ſays Corax, how can it be believed that he is guilty? or, in the latter, that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to appear ſo [r]? This method, and others ſimilar to it, have been explained and enlarged, in a work which is ſtill extant [s], by Tiſias, a pupil of Corax, who employed them to deprive his maſter of the ſalary which he owed him [t].

Artifices of the ſame kind had been already introduced into logic, the principles of which had begun to be formed into a ſyſtem; and from the art of thinking they paſſed without difficulty into the art of ſpeaking. The latter was alſo tinctured with the taſte for ſophiſtry, and the ſpirit of contradiction which predominated in the licentious extravagancies of the former.

Protagoras, the diſciple of Democritus, had been a witneſs, during his ſtay in Sicily, to the glory

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[q] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 1, t. ii. p. 610.
[r] Id. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 24, t. ii. p. 581.
[s] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273.
[t] Proleg. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 6. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 307.

which Corax had acquired. He had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by profound reſearches into the nature of beings, and ſoon acquired no leſs celebrity by the works he publiſhed on grammar, and the different parts of the art of oratory. To him alſo is aſcribed the honour of having firſt collected thoſe general propoſitions which are called *common-places* [w], and which an orator employs either to multiply his proofs [x], or to diſcourſe with facility on every kind of ſubject.

Theſe places, though very numerous, are reduced to a ſmall number of claſſes. An action is examined, for example, relatively to the cauſe, to the effect, to the circumſtances, to the perſons, &c. and from theſe relations ariſe a ſeries of contradictory maxims and propoſitions, accompanied by their proofs, and all exemplified by queſtions and anſwers [y] in the writings of Protagoras, and other rhetoricians who have continued his reſearches.

After having regulated the manner of conſtructing the exordium, diſpoſing the narration, and awakening the paſſions of the judges [z], the profeſſors of oratory began to extend the empire of eloquence, which had been till then confined to

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[w] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12, t. i. p. 345. Quintil. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 142.

[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 518; cap. 6, 7, &c. Cicer. Topic. t. i. p. 483.

[y] Ariſtot. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 2, t. i. p. 314.

[z] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 513.

the forum and the bar. Become the rival of poetry, ſhe at firſt celebrated the gods, the heroes, and citizens who had fallen in battle. Afterward Iſocrates compoſed eulogiums on individuals of diſtinguiſhed rank [a]. Since that time men who have ſerved, and men who have been of no utility to their country, have been indiſcriminately praiſed, incenſe has fumed on every ſide, and it has been determined that neither praiſe nor cenſure ought to be confined by any limits [b].

Theſe different attempts have employed almoſt a century, and during that interval the formation of ſtyle has been attended to with the ſame care. Not only has it preſerved the riches which in its origin it borrowed from poetry, but endeavours have been made to add to them, and every day it has been adorned with new colours and melodious ſounds. Theſe brilliant materials were at firſt thrown at random one on the other, like the ſtones which are collected to conſtruct an edifice [c]. Taſte and judgment took on them the care of aſſorting and exhibiting them in a beautiful arrangement. Inſtead of thoſe unconnected ſentences which, wanting ſtrength and ſupport, ſtumbled almoſt at every word, groups of well-ſelected expreſſions formed a whole, all the parts of which mutually and with-

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[a] Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 73.
[b] Gorg. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 12, t. i. p. 346.
[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 13.

out difficulty ſuſtained each other. The moſt delicate ears were delighted to hear the harmony of proſe, and the moſt accurate judgments no leſs gratified to perceive a thought unfold itſelf with grace and propriety in a ſingle period.

This happy form, the diſcovery of thoſe eminent rhetoricians Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Thraſymachus, was brought to perfection by Iſocrates, the diſciple of the former [d]. The periods of a diſcourſe were then diſtributed into intervals nearly equal; their members were connected and contraſted by words or thoughts interwoven in them. The words themſelves, by frequent inverſions, ſeemed to wind through the ſpace aſſigned to them, yet ſo that from the beginning of the ſentence the end might be diſcovered by attentive hearers [e]. This artifice, when ſkilfully employed, was a ſource of pleaſure, but, too frequently repeated, became ſo fatiguing that ſometimes, in our aſſemblies, perſons have been known to raiſe their voices, and finiſh, before the orator, the long period which he recited with complacency [f].

Reiterated efforts having at length rendered elocution numerous, flowing, harmonious, adapted to every ſubject, and ſuſceptible of every paſſion,

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[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 12. Cicer. Orat. cap. 52, t. i. p. 464.

[e] Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 12.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 15.

language among the Greeks became diſtinguiſhed into three kinds; that of poetry, which is noble and magnificent; that of converſation, which is ſimple and modeſt; and that of more elevated proſe, which approaches more or leſs to one or other of theſe, according to the ſubject on which it is employed.

Orators alſo are diſtinguiſhed into two claſſes: in the firſt are compriſed thoſe who dedicate their eloquence to the inſtruction of the people in their aſſemblies, as Pericles; to defend the intereſts of individuals at the bar, as Antiphon and Lyſias; or to adorn philoſophy with the brilliant colours of poetry, as Democritus and Plato[g]: in the ſecond are placed thoſe who, only cultivating rhetoric from ſordid views of intereſt or vain oſtentation, declaim in public, and pronounce elaborate orations on the nature of government or laws, on manners, ſciences, and arts, in which the thoughts are only rendered more obſcure by the language.

The greater part of the latter, known by the name of ſophiſts, are ſpread over all Greece. They travel from city to city, and are every where received with applauſe, and followed by a great number of diſciples, who, deſirous to raiſe themſelves to the firſt ſtations by their eloquence, pay liberally for their leſſons, and, while they attend

[g] Cicer. Orat. cap. 20, t. i. p. 436.

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on their maſters, lay in a large ſtock of thoſe general notions or common-places of which I have ſpoken above.

Their works, which I have collected, are written with ſo much ſymmetry and elegance, and contain ſuch a profuſion of beauties, that the reader is fatigued with the idea of the labour they muſt have coſt their authors. If they ſometimes ſeduce, they never move the paſſions, becauſe in them paradox holds the place of truth, and the ardour of the imagination that of the warmth of the heart.

They conſider rhetoric ſometimes as an inſtrument of perſuaſion [h], the exerciſe of which requires more ingenuity than ſentiment, and ſometimes as a ſpecies of tactics, of which the object is to collect a great number of words, to contract, extend, and ſuſtain them one by another, and make them march intrepidly againſt the enemy. They have alſo ambuſcades and bodies of reſerve, but their principal reſource is in the noiſe and ſplendour of their arms [i].

This ſplendour eſpecially ſhines in the eulogiums or panegyrics on Hercules and the demi-gods. Theſe are ſubjects which are choſen in preference, and the rage for encomium has increaſed to that

[h] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 459.
[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 22, t. i. p. 214.

degree that it has even extended to inanimate objects [k]. I have a book that is entitled *The Praiſe of Salt*, in which all the riches of the imagination are exhauſted to exaggerate the ſervices which that ſubſtance has rendered to mortals [l].

The impatience which the greater part of theſe works excite riſes even to indignation, when their authors inſinuate, or endeavour to demonſtrate, that the orator ought to be able equally to procure a triumph for guilt and innocence, falſehood and truth [m].

It becomes diſguſt when they found their reaſonings on the ſubtleties of dialectics. The moſt ingenuous minds, with a view to try their ſtrength, engage in theſe captious quibbles. Xanthippus, the ſon of Pericles, uſed to divert himſelf with relating that, during the celebration of certain games, a javelin that had careleſsly been thrown having accidentally killed a horſe, his father and Protagoras paſſed a whole day in inveſtigating the cauſe to which the miſchance ought to be attributed, whether to the javelin, the hand that threw the javelin, or the inſtitutors of the games [n].

You may judge from the following example of

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[k] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. i, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 530.

[l] Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 177. Iſocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 119.

[m] Plut. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261.

[n] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172.

the enthuſiaſm which the artifice of eloquence formerly excited. During the Peloponneſian war, a Sicilian arrived in Athens who filled all Greece with aſtoniſhment and admiration [o]. This was Gorgias, whom the inhabitants of Leontium, his native country, had ſent to implore our aſſiſtance [p]. He aſcended the roſtrum, and pronounced an harangue in which he had accumulated the boldeſt figures and the moſt pompous expreſſions. Theſe frivolous ornaments were diſtributed into periods, ſometimes regulated by the ſame meaſure, and ſometimes cloſing with the ſame cadence [q]. The Athenians were ſo dazzled with the glare of this artificial language [r], that they immediately voted that ſuccours ſhould be ſent to the Leontines, compelled the orator to ſettle among them, and ran in crowds to receive from him leſſons in rhetoric [s]. The higheſt praiſes were laviſhed on him when he pronounced the eulogium of thoſe citizens who had ſacrificed their lives in the ſervice of their country [t], when, at the theatre, he declared that he was prepared to ſpeak on any ſubject that ſhould

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[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 168.

[p] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 106.

[q] Cicer. Orat. cap. 49, t. i. p. 461. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 2, t. vi. p. 792; cap. 17, p. 808.

[r] Dionyſ. Halic. de Lyſ. t. v. p. 458.

[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xv. p. 169.

[t] Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1, p. 493.

be propoſed [u], and when, at the public games, he recited a diſcourſe to invite the different ſtates of Greece to unite againſt the barbarians [x].

On another occaſion, the Greeks, aſſembled at the Pythian games, decreed him a ſtatue, which was placed, in his preſence, in the temple of Apollo [y]. In Theſſaly his talents had been crowned with ſtill more flattering ſucceſs. The people of that country were as yet only acquainted with the arts of breaking horſes, and enriching themſelves by commerce; Gorgias appeared among them, and they quickly aſpired to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the endowments of the mind [z].

Gorgias acquired a fortune equal to his reputation [a]; but the revolution he effected in the minds of men was only a tranſient intoxication. In reality he is a frigid writer, labouring to attain to the ſublime, by efforts which only remove him farther from his object, while the magnificence of his expreſſions frequently only ſerves to manifeſt the ſterility of his ideas [b]. He nevertheleſs extended

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[u] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 447. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 101. Id. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 22, t. i. p. 153. Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. p. 482.

[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. ii. p. 599. Pauſan. lib. 6, p. 495. Philoſtr. ibid. p. 493.

[y] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 32, t. i. p. 310. Val. Max. lib. 8, cap. 15. Plin. lib. 33, cap. 4, p. 619. Philoſtr. ibid. Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11, cap. 15, p. 505.

[z] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 70. Philoſtr. Epiſt. ad Jul. p. 919.

[a] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

[b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 210.

the limits of his art, and his very faults may be uſeful as leſſons.

Euclid, while he ſhewed me ſeveral harangues of Gorgias, and different works compoſed by his diſciples, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, &c. added, I leſs value the pompous ornament which theſe diſplay in their writings than the noble and ſimple eloquence which characterizes thoſe of Prodicus of Ceos [c]. This author poſſeſſes what accurate minds muſt eſteem a principal beauty; he almoſt always chooſes the proper term, and diſcovers very acute diſtinctions between words that appear ſynonymous [d].

That, ſaid I, is true; but he never ſuffers one to paſs without examining it with a ſcrupulous and fatiguing exactneſs. You recollect what he one day ſaid to Socrates and Protagoras, when he wiſhed to reconcile their opinions? "It appertains to you *to diſcuſs*, and not *to diſpute*; for we "*diſcuſs* with our friends, but we *diſpute* with our "enemies. By that you will obtain our *eſteem*, "and not our *praiſe*; for *eſteem* is in the heart, "and *praiſe* often only on the lips. On our ſide "we ſhall receive *ſatisfaction*, and not *pleaſure*; for "*ſatisfaction* is the ſentiment of the mind when it

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 168.
[d] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75. Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 197.

" is enlightened, and *pleaſure* the feeling of the " ſenſes in enjoyment [e]."

If Prodicus had expreſſed himſelf in this manner, anſwered Euclid, who would ever have had patience to hear him, or read his works? If you examine the latter [f], you will be compelled to admire the ſenſe, as well as the elegance, of his ſtyle. The language you have juſt repeated is attributed to him by Plato, who diverted himſelf in the ſame manner at the expence of Protagoras, Gorgias, and the moſt celebrated rhetoricians of his time [g]. He has repreſented them in his dialogues diſputing with his maſter, and in theſe pretended converſations has exhibited ſome very pleaſant ſcenes.

Has not Plato, then, replied I, faithfully related the converſations of Socrates? I doubt he has not, anſwered Euclid; I even believe that the greater part of theſe converſations never really paſſed [h].—But will not almoſt every one exclaim againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition?—Phædon, after having read the dialogue which bears his name, declared that he did not recollect any thing of the diſcourſe which Plato has attributed to him [i]. Gorgias ſaid the

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[e] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 337. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 169.

[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2, p. 737.

[g] Plat. in Protag. in Gorg. in Hipp. &c.

[h] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 32, t. i. p. 310.

[i] Athen. lib. 11, cap. 15, p. 505.

ſame of the dialogue which is entitled after his name: he only added, that the young author had great talents for ſatire, and would ſoon be qualified to ſucceed the poet Archilochus [k].—But you will at leaſt agree that his portraits in general have a reſemblance.—As we ought not to form our judgment of Pericles and Socrates from the comedies of Ariſtophanes, ſo neither ought we to judge of the three ſophiſts of whom I have ſpoken from the dialogues of Plato.

He had, no doubt, reaſon to oppoſe their doctrines, but he ought not to have repreſented them as men without ideas or knowledge, incapable of following an argument, ever ready to be entangled in the groſſeſt ſnares, and whoſe productions merit only contempt. If they had not poſſeſſed great abilities, they would not have been ſo dangerous. I do not ſay that he was jealous of their reputation, as ſome may perhaps hereafter ſuſpect [l]; but it appears that, in his youth, he too much addicted himſelf to a taſte for fictions and pleaſantry [m].

However this may be, the abuſes introduced, in his time, into eloquence, occaſioned between philoſophy and rhetoric, which till then had been occupied on the ſame objects, and borne the ſame

[k] Hermip. ap. Athen. ibid.
[l] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 756.
[m] Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 11, p. 505.

name, a kind of divorce which ſtill ſubſiſts [n], and which has often deprived them of the ſuccours they might mutually afford to each other [o]. The former reproaches the latter, ſometimes in the ſtyle of contempt, with uſurping her rights, and daring to treat circumſtantially on religion, politics, and morals, without being acquainted with their principles [p]. But it may be replied to philoſophy, that, as ſhe is unable herſelf to terminate our differences by the ſublimity of her dogmas and the preciſion of her language, ſhe ought to permit her rival to become her interpreter, to adorn her with her charms, and render her more familiar; and this in fact is what has been done, in our time, by the orators who, profiting by their acquaintance both with philoſophy and rhetoric, have dedicated their talents to public utility.

At the head of theſe I, without heſitation, place Pericles. He was indebted to the leſſons of the rhetoricians and philoſophers for that propriety of arrangement and extenſive knowledge, which, in concert with his genius, carried the art of oratory almoſt to its perfection [q]. Alcibiades, Critias, and Theramenes [r], followed in his footſteps. Thoſe

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[n] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 16 et 19, t. i. p. 294 et 296.

[o] Id Orat. cap. 3, p. 422.

[p] Id. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 13, p. 143.

[q] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 269. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 11 et 12, t. i. p. 345.

[r] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 22, p. 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 7, p. 342.

who ſucceeded have equalled, and even ſometimes ſurpaſſed, while they laboured to imitate them; and it may be aſſerted that the taſte of true eloquence is now fixed in all its different kinds.

You are acquainted with the authors who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in our time, and are able to appreciate their merit. As I have only judged, anſwered I, from natural ſentiment, I could wiſh to know whether the impreſſions I have received are juſtified by the rules of art. Thoſe rules, replied Euclid, the fruits of long experience, were formed from the works and ſucceſs of great poets and the firſt orators[s].

The empire of this art is very extenſive: it is exerciſed in the general aſſemblies, in which the intereſts of a nation are diſcuſſed; before tribunals, by which the diſputes of individuals are determined; in diſcourſes which repreſent vice and virtue in their true colours; and on all occaſions, in fine, when the object is the inſtruction of mankind[t]. Hence originate three ſpecies of eloquence, the deliberative, the judiciary, and the demonſtrative[u]. Thus to haſten or prevent the deciſion of the people, to defend the innocent or convict the guilty, to praiſe virtue and cenſure vice, are the noble functions of the orator. And

[s] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 31, p. 161.
[t] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261.
[u] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 2, p. 610.

how is he to acquit himſelf of theſe? By perſuaſion. And by what means may perſuaſion be effected? By profound ſtudy, ſay the philoſophers; by the aſſiſtance of rules, ſay the rhetoricians [z].

The merit of rhetoric, according to the former, conſiſts not in a happy connection of the exordium, the narration, and the other parts of a diſcourſe [y]; nor in the artifices of ſtyle, voice, and geſture, which are employed to ſeduce a corrupted people [x]. Theſe are only acceſſories, ſometimes uſeful, but almoſt always dangerous. What then ſhall we require from the orator? That to natural genius he join ſcience and ſtudy.

Let the man whom nature has deſtined to the exerciſe of eloquence, wait till philoſophy has conducted him to it by ſlow ſteps [a]; till ſhe ſhall have proved to him that the art of ſpeaking, which ſhould convince before it perſuades, muſt derive its principal ſtrength from the art of reaſoning [b]; till ſhe ſhall have taught him to conceive accurate ideas, to expreſs them with perſpicuity, to diſtinguiſh and obſerve all the relations and contraſts of their objects, and to know and make known to others what each thing eſſentially is [c],

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[z] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.
[y] Plat. ibid. p. 266. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 512.
[x] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 583.
[a] Cicer. Orat. cap. 4. p. 423.
[b] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 513.
[c] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 277.

He ſhall thus become largely endowed with the knowledge proper for a ſtateſman, an upright judge, and a virtuous citizen [d]; and ſhall be well acquainted with the different forms of government, the laws and intereſts of nations [e], the nature of man, and the inconſtant play of human paſſions [f].

But this knowledge, purchaſed by long and laborious reſearches, muſt eaſily be contaminated by the contagious breath of opinion, unleſs it be ſupported, not only by acknowledged probity and conſummate prudence [g], but alſo by an ardent zeal for juſtice, and a profound veneration for the gods, the witneſſes of his actions and his words [h].

Then ſhall his language, become the organ of truth, poſſeſs the ſimplicity, energy, ardour, and perſuaſive dignity by which truth is characterized; it ſhall be leſs embelliſhed by the ſplendour of his eloquence than by that of his virtues [i], and all his ſhafts ſhall reach their deſtined aim, becauſe every hearer ſhall be perſuaded that they proceed from a hand which has never wilfully erred.

Such an orator only ſhall aſſume the right to explain to us in the popular aſſembly what is truly uſeful, at the bar what is truly juſt, and in

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[d] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 4, 9, et 10.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9, t. ii. p. 521.
[f] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 481.
[g] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 1. p. 547.
[h] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273.
[i] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 515.

diſcourſes dedicated to the memory of great men, or the panegyric of noble actions, what is truly praiſe-worthy [k].

We have ſeen what is the opinion of philoſophers with regard to rhetoric; let us now proceed to examine the end which rhetoricians propoſe to themſelves, and the rules which they have laid down. But Ariſtotle has undertaken to collect them in a work [l] in which he will doubtleſs treat his ſubject with that ſuperiority which is ſo conſpicuous in his former writings [m].

Thoſe who have preceded him have confined themſelves, ſometimes properly to arrange the parts of a diſcourſe without paying attention to ſtrengthen it with convincing proofs [n], ſometimes to collect a number of general maxims or common-places [o], and ſometimes to give us ſome precepts on ſtyle [p] and the means of moving the paſſions [q]. At other times they teach a variety of artifices which may give to probability a ſuperiority over truth, and make the worſe appear the better cauſe [r]. But all have neglected the moſt eſſential parts, as the re-

[k] Plat. in Phædr. p. 274. Ariſt. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor ad Alexand. cap. 2, p. 610.

[l] Ariſtot. Rhetor. t. ii. p. 512. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 35, t. i. p. 313.

[m] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 38, t. i. p. 229.

[n] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 513.

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 518.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 584.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 515.

[r] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 23, p. 577; cap. 24, p. 581.

gulation of the action and voice of the ſpeaker[s]; and all have laboured to form the pleader, without ſaying a word of the public orator. That, ſaid I, excites my ſurpriſe; for the functions of the latter are much more uſeful, noble, and difficult, than thoſe of the former[t]. They, no doubt, thought, replied Euclid, that, in an aſſembly where all the citizens have the ſame intereſt, eloquence ought only to relate plain facts, and give ſalutary counſel; but that every artifice of rhetoric is required to induce judges to favour a cauſe to which they are naturally indifferent and ſtrangers[u].

In the work of Ariſtotle the opinions of theſe authors will be given and examined, often attacked, and almoſt always accompanied with acute obſervations and important additions. As you will one day read it, it is unneceſſary for me to ſay any more of it at preſent.

I put a great number of queſtions to Euclid, but to very little purpoſe, as he would ſcarcely return me anſwers.—Have the rhetoricians adopted the principles of the philoſophers? They frequently depart from them, and eſpecially when they prefer probability to truth[x].—What is the firſt quality of an able orator? To be an excel-

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[s] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 584.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 17, t. ii. p. 605.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 513.
[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.

lent logician[y].—What is his firſt duty? To ſhew that a thing is, or is not[z].—What ought to be his principal attention? To diſcover in each ſubject the means proper to perſuade[a].—Into how many parts is a diſcourſe divided? The rhetoricians admit a great number[b], which are reducible to four; the exordium, the propoſition or fact, the proof, and the peroration: the firſt and laſt may even be omitted[c].—I was proceeding in my enquiries, but Euclid requeſted me to deſiſt, and I could only obtain from him a few remarks on ſtyle.

Notwithſtanding the Greek language is ſo rich and copious, ſaid I, you cannot but have perceived that the expreſſion does not always correſpond to the idea. No doubt, replied he, but we poſſeſs the ſame right as the firſt inſtitutors of languages[d]; we are permitted to hazard a new word, either by creating it ourſelves, or deriving it from a word already known[e]. At other times we add a figurative to the literal ſenſe of an expreſſion conſecrated by cuſtom; or we intimately unite two words to form a third; but this latter licence is commonly reſerved to the poets[f], and eſpecially

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[y] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 513.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 512.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 1 et 2.
[b] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.
[c] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 13.
[d] Quinctil. lib. 8, cap. 3, p. 486.
[e] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 95, 96, &c.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 93. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 585.

to the writers of dithyrambics[g]. As to other innovations, they ought to be uſed with diſcretion, and they are never adopted by the public except when they are conformable to the analogy of the language.

The beauty of an expreſſion conſiſts in the ſound with which it delights the ear, and the ſenſe that it contains; but let none be admitted into a work, which may offend modeſty, or diſguſt good taſte. One of your authors, anſwered I, will not admit any difference between the ſigns of our thoughts, and affirms that in whatever manner an idea be expreſſed, it always produces the ſame effect. He is miſtaken, replied Euclid; of two words which are at our choice, one is more modeſt and decent than the other, becauſe it only indicates the image which the other places immediately before our eyes[h].

We have proper and figurative, ſimple and compound, foreign and native words[i]; ſome are more noble or more ornamental than others, becauſe they awaken in us more exalted or more agreeable ideas[k]; others are ſo mean, or ſo diſſonant, that they ought not to be admitted either into proſe or verſe[l]

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[g] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 587.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 586.
[i] Id. Poet. cap. 21 et 22, t. ii. p. 668 et 669.
[k] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 175, 176, &c.
[l] Theophr. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 16, t. v. p. 105. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 179.

From the different combinations of words are formed periods, ſome of which conſiſt only of a ſingle member[m], while others are compoſed of two, three, or four members; but none ought to contain more than four[n].

A diſcourſe ought not to preſent an unvaried ſucceſſion of complete and ſymmetrical periods, like the orations of Gorgias[o] and Iſocrates, nor a ſeries of ſhort and detached ſentences[p], like thoſe of the ancients. The former fatigue the mind, the latter wound the ear[q]. The meaſures of the period ſhould be inceſſantly diverſified, by which the ſtyle will at once diſplay the beauties of art and of ſimplicity[r]; it will even acquire majeſty, if the laſt member of the period be the moſt extended[s], and if it concludes with one of thoſe long ſyllables on which the voice repoſes in a harmonious cloſe[t].

The two moſt eſſential requiſites to good language are propriety and perſpicuity[u].

1ſt. *Propriety.* It was early perceived that to expreſs great ideas in abject terms, and mean

[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 592.
[n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 16.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 15.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 4.
[q] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 49, t. i. p. 326.
[r] Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 15.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 18.
[t] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 8, t. ii. p. 591.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 584.

thoughts

thoughts in pompous expreſſions, was to clothe the chief magiſtrates in rags, and array in purple the dregs of the people: it was alſo perceived that the ſoul ſpeaks a different language according as it is in motion or at reſt; that an old man does not expreſs himſelf like a youth, nor the inhabitants of the country like thoſe of the city. Hence it follows, that the diction ſhould vary according to the character of him who ſpeaks, and that of thoſe whom he addreſſes; according to the nature of the ſubject he treats, and the circumſtances in which he may chance to be [x]. It alſo follows, that the ſtyle of poetry, and that of oratory, hiſtory and dialogue, muſt eſſentially differ from each other [y]; and even that in each of theſe kinds of ſtyle the manners and talents of an author muſt produce a ſenſible difference in his language [z].

2d. *Perſpicuity.* An orator or a writer ought accurately to have ſtudied the language in which he ſpeaks or writes. If the rules of grammar are violated, it will be frequently difficult to underſtand his meaning. If he make uſe of ambiguous words, or uſeleſs circumlocutions, place improperly the conjunctions which connect the members of a ſentence, confound the plural with the ſingular, diſregard the diſtinction which has been eſtabliſhed

[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 591.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 1, t. ii. p. 594. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 19. Cicer. Orat. cap. 20, t. i. p. 436.
[z] Cicer. Orat. cap. 11, p. 428.

in theſe modern times between maſculine and feminine nouns, employ the ſame expreſſion to ſignify the impreſſions received by two different ſenſes *, diſtribute at random, after the manner of Heraclitus, the words of a ſentence ſo that the reader cannot gueſs at the punctuation intended by the author; all theſe defects will equally contribute to the obſcurity of his ſtyle [a]; which will be ſtill more increaſed if the profuſion of ornaments and the length of the periods bewilder the attention of the reader, and do not ſuffer him to take breath [b], or if, by a too great rapidity of expreſſion, the thought eſcapes him, like thoſe racers who diſappear in an inſtant from the eyes of the ſpectator [c].

Nothing contributes more to perſpicuity than words in common uſe [d]; but if their ordinary acceptation is never varied, the ſtyle will become familiar and creeping; it ſhould be elevated by new turns and figurative expreſſions [e].

The movement of proſe ought to be regulated by an eaſy rhythmus, and ſhould avoid the too artificial cadence of poetry [f]. The greater part

* This has been done by Æſchylus (in Prometh. v. 21). Vulcan ſays that Prometheus ſhall no more *ſee* the *voice* or figure of a man.

[a] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 588. Id. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 26, p. 632.

[b] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 208.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 202.

[d] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 585.

[e] Id. ibid.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 8, p. 591. Cicer. de. Clar. Orat. cap. 8, t. i. p. 343. Id. Orat. cap. 20, p. 436; cap. 51, p. 463.

of critics exclude from it verſe; and this interdiction is founded on a principle that ought never to be loſt ſight of, which is, that art ſhould conceal itſelf[g]; and an author who would move or perſuade, ought not too openly to diſcover his intent. But proſe which changes into verſe betrays conſtraint and artifice. What! ſaid I, if a verſe ſhould eſcape a writer in the warmth of compoſition, muſt it be rejected at the hazard of enfeebling the thought? If it has only the appearance of verſe, replied Euclid, it ſhould be retained, and it will be an embelliſhment[h]; if it is regular, it ſhould be broken, and its fragments will render the period more ſonorous[i]. Several writers, and Iſocrates himſelf, have expoſed their works to cenſure from having neglected this precaution[k].

Glycera, when forming a garland, is not more attentive to the arrangement of colours, than an author whoſe ear is delicate is to the harmony of ſounds. On this ſubject numerous precepts have been given that I omit; but one queſtion has ariſen on which I have frequently heard diſputes. May two words immediately follow each other, one of which ends and the other begins with the ſame

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g Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 585. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 37, p. 228.

h Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 184. Hermog. de Form. Orat. lib. 2, t. i. p. 122.

i Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 183.

k Id. ibid. cap. 118. Hieronym. ap. Cicer. Orat. cap. 56, t. i. p. 468.

vowel? Iſocrates and his diſciples carefully avoid this concurrence, as does Demoſthenes frequently; but Thucydides and Plato rarely pay attention to it[l]. Some critics rigorouſly forbid it[m]; others accompany the law with reſtrictions, and maintain that an abſolute prohibition would ſometimes be detrimental to the gravity of the language[n].

I have heard ſpeak, ſubjoined I, of different kinds of ſtyle; ſuch as the noble, the grave, the ſimple, the agreeable[o], &c. Let us leave to rhetoricians, anſwered Euclid, the care of aſſigning to theſe their reſpective characters. I have indicated them all in two words. If the language be clear and proper, if an exact proportion be maintained between the words, the thoughts, and the ſubject[p], nothing more ought to be required.

If we reflect attentively on this principle, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at the following aſſertions. The eloquence of the bar differs eſſentially from that of the roſtrum. An orator will be pardoned negligences and repetitions which would not be allowed in a writer[q]. A diſcourſe applauded in the general aſſembly ſhall not be endured in the cloſet, becauſe the action and manner conſtituted

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[l] Cicer. Orat. cap. 44, t. i. p. 457.
[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 26, t. ii. p. 632.
[n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 322 et 323.
[o] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 12, t. ii. p. 598. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 36.
[p] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. ii. p. 590.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 12, p. 597.

its principal merit; while another, written with the greateſt care, ſhall not ſucceed in public, for want of the action ſuitable to a popular harangue[r]. The language which ſeeks to dazzle us by its magnificence, becomes exceſſively frigid when it is inharmonious, when the labour of the author is too apparent, and when, to uſe an expreſſion of Sophocles, he violently inflates his cheeks to blow into a little flute[s]. The ſtyle of ſome orators is inſupportable from the multiplicity of verſes and compound words which they borrow from poetry[t]. On the other hand, Alcidamas diſguſts us by a profuſion of redundant epithets, and Gorgias by the obſcurity of his far-fetched metaphors[u].

The greater part of hyperboles infuſe a mortal frigidity. Thoſe authors are only to be ridiculed who confound a nervous with a forced ſtyle, and labour with contorſions to bring forth expreſſions of genius. One of theſe, ſpeaking of the rock which Polyphemus threw at the ſhip of Ulyſſes, ſays, "The goats were ſeen to feed undiſturbed on the rock as it cleaved the air[x]."

I have often obſerved, replied I, the abuſe of figures; and perhaps they ought to be entirely baniſhed from proſe, as has been done by ſome mo-

[r] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 12, p. 597.
[s] Longin. de Sublim. § 3.
[t] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 117.
[u] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 3, t. ii. p. 587.
[x] Demetr. ibid. cap. 115.

dern authors[y]. Proper words, replied he, conſtitute the language of reaſon, and figurative expreſſions that of paſſion. Reaſon may deſign a picture, and wit ſcatter over it ſome ſlight ornaments, but it appertains to paſſion alone to give it motion and life. A ſoul which wiſhes us to ſhare its emotions, calls all nature to its aid, and creates to itſelf a new language. By diſcovering among the objects that ſurround us features of reſemblance or oppoſition, it rapidly accumulates figures, which may be reduced to a ſingle one, which I call ſimilitude. If I ſay, *Achilles ruſhes on his adverſary like a lion*, I make a compariſon; if I ſay, ſimply, *that lion ruſhes*, it is a metaphor[z]. *Achilles ſwifter than the wind*, is an hyperbole. If his courage be contraſted with the cowardice of Therſites, an antitheſis will be produced. Thus, the compariſon places two objects near to each other, the metaphor confounds them, and the hyperbole and antitheſis ſeparate after having brought them together.

Compariſons are more ſuitable to poetry than proſe[a]; the hyperbole and antitheſis more proper for funeral orations and panegyrics than popular harangues and pleadings; but metaphors are eſſential to every kind and ſtyle of language. They give an air of novelty to the moſt common idea[b].

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[y] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 67.
[z] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 4, t. ii. p. 588.
[a] Id. ibid. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 90.
[b] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 585.

The reader remains for a moment in ſuſpenſe, but ſoon diſcovers through the thin veil the relations, which were only concealed from him that he might enjoy the ſatisfaction of the diſcovery. Some time ſince ſurpriſe was excited when an author compared old age to ſtraw [c]; that ſtraw which, once filled with grain, is become empty, and ready to be reduced to duſt. But the emblem was adopted becauſe it paints, at a ſingle ſtroke, the tranſition from flouriſhing youth to barren and feeble decrepitude.

As the pleaſures of the mind are only pleaſures of ſurpriſe, and endure but for an inſtant, the ſame figure cannot be repeatedly employed with the ſame ſucceſs, but will ſoon be confounded with common and appropriate terms, as has happened to many metaphors, which have been multiplied in all languages, and eſpecially in ours. Theſe expreſſions, *a clear voice*, *rugged manners*, and others ſimilar, have loſt their metaphorical value by becoming familiar [d].

The metaphor ſhould, as much as poſſible, repreſent the object in action. Obſerve how all things are animated beneath the pencil of Homer; the ſpear thirſts for the blood of the enemy, and the dart is impatient to ſtrike [e].

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[c] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 593.
[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 87 et 88.
[e] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 595.

In certain caſes, metaphors which awaken agreeable ideas are to be preferred. Homer has ſaid, *roſy-fingered Aurora*, becauſe he had perhaps remarked that Nature ſometimes diffuſes over a beautiful hand tints of a roſe-colour, which contribute to heighten its beauty. What would have become of his image if he had ſaid *purple-fingered Aurora*[f]?

Each figure ſhould preſerve an accurate and manifeſt ſimilitude. You no doubt recollect the conſternation of the Athenians when Pericles ſaid to them, "Our youth have fallen in battle. It is as if the year were deprived of the ſpring[g]." Here the analogy is perfect, for youth is to the different periods of life what the ſpring is to the other ſeaſons of the year.

This expreſſion of Euripides, *The oar the ſovereign of the ſeas*, has been with reaſon condemned, becauſe ſo lofty a title is unſuitable to ſuch an inſtrument[h]. The expreſſion of Gorgias, *You reap in grief what you have ſowed in ſhame*[i], has likewiſe been condemned, no doubt, becauſe the words to ſow and reap have not hitherto been uſed in a figurative ſenſe except by the poets. Laſtly, Plato has been cenſured when, to expreſs that a well

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[f] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 586.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 10, p. 594.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 2, p. 586.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 3, p. 587.

conſtituted city ought not to have walls, he has ſaid, that the walls ſhould be left to ſleep lying on the ground [k].

Euclid proceeded to enlarge on the different ornaments of diſcourſe. He cited ſeveral happy tranſitions, fine alluſions, ingenious thoughts, and repartees abounding in wit [l*]. He confeſſed that the greater part of theſe add nothing to our knowledge, and only ſhew with what rapidity the mind can proceed to a concluſion without ſtopping at the intermediary ideas. He allowed likewiſe that certain modes of expreſſion have been by turns approved and rejected by critics of equal abilities.

After having made a few remarks on the manner of regulating the voice and geſture, and reminding me that Demoſthenes conſidered action as the firſt, ſecond, and third quality of an orator [m], he added, Eloquence has every where aſſimilated itſelf to the character of the nation. The Greeks of Caria, Myſia, and Phrygia, are ſtill rude and unrefined, and ſeem to admire only what reſembles the luxury of the ſatraps, of whom they are the ſlaves. Their orators declaim with forced intonations, harangues

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[k] Plat. de. Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 778. Longin. de Sublim. § 3.

[l] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 11, t. ii. p. 596. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 271.

[*] See note at the end of the volume.

[m] Cic. de Clar. Orat. cap. 38, t. i. p. 368.

overloaded with faſtidious redundance [n]; while the Spartans with ſevere manners and a ſound judgment hold in profound contempt every ſpecies of oſtentation; they ſay but a word, but ſometimes that word contains a treatiſe on morals or politics.

Let a ſtranger liſten to our ableſt orators, or read our beſt writers, and he will ſoon be convinced that he is in the midſt of a ſenſible, learned, and poliſhed nation, abounding in wit and taſte. He will every-where find the ſame facility to diſcover the beauties moſt ſuitable to each ſubject, and the ſame diſcretion in their diſtribution; and he will conſtantly perceive that theſe are heightened by touches which awaken the attention, and graces which embelliſh reaſon [o].

Even in the works in which the greateſt ſimplicity reigns, how much will he be ſurpriſed to find a language that might be eaſily miſtaken for the moſt common and uſual, though it is ſeparated from it by a very wide interval! And how great muſt be his aſtoniſhment to diſcover in it tranſcendent beauties, which he would never have perceived had he not vainly endeavoured to transfer them to his own writings [p]!

I now aſked Euclid what author he would pro-

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[n] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 8, t. i. p. 425; cap. 18, p. 433.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 9, t. i. p. 426. Id. de Opt. Gen. Orat. t. i. p. 451. Quinctil. lib. 6, cap. 3, p. 373 et 395.
[p] Cicer. Orat. cap. 23, t. i. p. 438.

poſe as a model of ſtyle. None in particular, replied he; but all in general [q]. I ſhall name no one expreſsly, becauſe thoſe two of our writers who approach neareſt to perfection, Plato and Demoſthenes, ſometimes err, the one by exceſs of ornament [r], and the other by defect of elevation [s]. I ſay all in general, becauſe by ſtudying them, and comparing one with another, we may learn not only to give a colouring to our language [t], but may alſo acquire that pure and exquiſite taſte which directs and judges the productions of genius, a rapid ſentiment which is become ſo widely diffuſed among us that it may be conſidered as the inſtinct of the nation.

You are well acquainted, indeed, with what contempt the Athenians reject whatever is incorrect or inelegant in a diſcourſe, and how haſtily they exclaim in their aſſemblies againſt an improper expreſſion, or a falſe intonation, and what labour it coſts our orators to give content to ears ſo rigid and ſo delicate [u]. They are offended, replied I, when the harmony is deficient, but not when decency is violated. Do they not continually revile each other with the moſt groſs and filthy abuſe? What are the means which ſome among them

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[q] Cicer. Orat. cap. 9, t. i. p. 426.
[r] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 758.
[s] Æ chin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 412. Cicer. Orat. cap. 8, p. 426.
[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 14, t. i. p. 205.
[u] Cicer. Orat. cap. 8, t. i. p. 425.

have employed to arrive at admiration and applauſe? The frequent uſe of the hyperbole[x], the glare of the antitheſis, and all the gaudy ornaments of rhetoric[y], violent geſtures, and frantic exclamations[z].

Euclid anſwered, that theſe extravagances were condemned by perſons of ſound judgment. But, replied I, are they by the Athenians in general? Every year, are not deteſtable dramatic pieces preferred, at the theatre, to thoſe that poſſeſs the greateſt excellence[a]? Some tranſient ſucceſs, ſaid he, obtained by ſurpriſe or intrigue, cannot eſtabliſh the reputation of an author. One proof, anſwered I, that good taſte is not general among you is, that you ſtill have bad writers. One, after the example of Gorgias, ſcatters with profuſion through his proſe all the embelliſhments of poetry[b]; another turns, ſmooths, rounds, and lengthens his periods, till we forget their beginning before we hear their concluſion[c]. Others carry their affectation to the moſt ridiculous abſurdity; as, for inſtance, he who ſpeaking of a centaur called him *a man on horſeback on himſelf*[d].

Theſe authors, ſaid Euclid, are like abuſes

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[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 597.
[y] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 181.
[z] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 264. Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 528.
[a] Aul. Gell. lib. 17, cap. 4.
[b] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 584.
[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 4.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 191.

which inſinuate themſelves into every thing, and their triumphs like thoſe dreams which leave behind them only regret. I exclude them, and their admirers likewiſe, from that nation of which I boaſt the taſte, and which is only compoſed of enlightened citizens. Theſe, ſooner or later, muſt fix the deciſions of the multitude [e], and you will not deny that they are more numerous among us than among any other people.

It appears to me, that eloquence has now arrived at its higheſt degree of improvement [f]. Who can ſay what will be its fate hereafter? It is eaſy to foreſee it, anſwered I. It will be enervated if you are ſubjected by any foreign power [g]; and annihilated if philoſophy ſhould eſtabliſh her dominion over you; but happily you are ſecure from the latter danger. Euclid perceived my idea, and requeſted me to explain it more at length. I will, replied I, on condition that you pardon me my eccentricities and paradoxes.

I underſtand by philoſophy a reaſon tranſcendently enlightened; and I would aſk you, whether thoſe illuſions which have entered into language, as well as into our paſſions, would not vaniſh at its appearance, like phantoms and ſhadows at the dawning of the day?

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[e] Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. cap. 2, p. 853.
[f] Theophr. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 394.
[g] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9, t. i. p. 344. Id. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 23, p. 214.

Let us take for our judge one of thoſe genii which inhabit the celeſtial ſpheres, and whoſe ſole nouriſhment is pure truth. Let us imagine him deſcended to earth, and that I place before him a diſcourſe on morals. He will applaud the ſolidity of the principles, the clearneſs of the ideas, the ſtrength of the proofs, and the propriety of the terms. Yet, nevertheleſs, ſay I, this diſcourſe cannot ſucceed unleſs it be tranſlated into the language of the orators. The members of this period muſt be rendered more ſymmetrical, and the words in this other differently arranged, to produce more agreeable ſounds[h]. I have not always expreſſed myſelf with ſufficient preciſion. My hearers would never pardon me for having diſtruſted their underſtanding. My ſtyle is too ſimple; I ought to have embelliſhed it with luminous points[i]. What are thoſe luminous points? aſks the genius.—Hyperboles, compariſons, metaphors, and other figures, to exalt things above, or debaſe them below, their value[k].

This language, no doubt, aſtoniſhes you; but we mortals are ſo conſtituted that, to defend even the truth, it is neceſſary to employ fiction. I ſhall cite to you ſome of theſe figures, borrowed for the moſt part from the writings of the poets, who have

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[h] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 139.

[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 25, t. i. p. 303. Id. Orat. cap. 25, p. 440. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 79, p. 402.

[k] Quinctil. lib. 9, cap. 2, p. 547.

given them in ſtrong colours, and from whoſe works ſome orators tranſplant them into their proſe. They are the ornament of an eulogium of which the beginning is as follows:

I prepare to render the name of my hero for ever celebrated among men[l]. Stop, ſays the genius, can you be certain that your work will be known and applauded in every age and country? No, anſwer I, but it is a figure. *His anceſtors, who were the eye of Sicily*[m], *fixed their abode near Mount Ætna, the column of heaven*[n]. I hear the genius ſay, in a low voice, Heaven ſupported by a ſmall rock in this inſignificant globe which is called the earth! What extravagance! *Words ſweeter than honey flow from his lips*[o], *they fall without interruption as the fleeces of ſnow deſcend on the plain*[p]. What have words in common with honey and ſnow? ſays the genius. *He has gathered the flower of muſic*[q], *and his lyre extinguiſhes the flaming thunderbolt*[r]. The genius ſurveys me with aſtoniſhment, and I continue: *He has the eye and the prudence of Jupiter, the terrible aſpect of Mars, and the ſtrength of Neptune*[s]. *The number of beauties of which he has made the conqueſt*

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[l] Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 71.
[m] Pind. Olymp. 2, v. 17.
[n] Id. Pyth. 1, v. 36.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1, v. 249.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3, v. 222.
[q] Pind. Olymp. 1, v. 22.
[r] Id. Pyth. 1, v. 8.
[s] Homer. Iliad. 2, v. 169 et 478. Euſtath. t. i.

equals the number of the leaves of the trees, and that of the waves which roll in ſucceſſion to expire on the ſhore of the ocean[1]. At theſe words the genius diſappears, and wings his way towards the abodes of light.

Though it may be objected to you, ſaid Euclid, that you have heaped together too many figures in this eulogium, I can admit that our exaggerations falſify our ideas as well as our ſentiments, and that they give offence to a mind unaccuſtomed to them. But it is to be hoped that our reaſon will not remain in an eternal infancy. Do not flatter yourſelf, replied I; man would no longer bear a juſt proportion to the reſt of nature, could he attain to the perfection of which he imagines himſelf capable.

Were our ſenſes to become exquiſitely acute, the palate would be unable to bear the impreſſion of honey and milk, or the hand to reſt on any body without feeling great pain; the ſcent of a roſe would throw us into convulſions, the leaſt noiſe rend the membrane of our ears, and our eyes would diſcover frightful wrinkles in the texture of the moſt beautiful ſkin. It is the ſame with the qualities of the mind; if that ſhould acquire a more piercing diſcernment and more rigorous accuracy, how much muſt it be diſguſted at the

[1] Anacr. Od. 32.

feebleneſs

feebleneſs and impropriety of the ſigns which repreſent our ideas! It would no doubt create to itſelf another language; but what would become of that of the paſſions? What would become of the paſſions themſelves under the abſolute government of a reaſon ſo rigid and ſo pure? They and the imagination likewiſe would become extinct, and man would no longer be the ſame creature.

In the ſtate in which he at preſent is, every production of his mind, his heart, and his hands, only announces his inſufficiency and his wants. He is encloſed within narrow limits, and nature ſeverely puniſhes him if he attempts to paſs them. Do you imagine that by becoming civilized he has made any great advances toward perfection? What then has he gained? In the general order of ſociety he has ſubſtituted laws made by men for thoſe natural laws of which the gods are the authors; in manners, hypocriſy for virtue; in his pleaſures, illuſion for reality; and in politeneſs, ceremony for ſentiment. His taſte has been ſo corrupted by refinement, that he has found himſelf conſtrained to prefer, in the arts, thoſe that are agreeable to thoſe that are uſeful; in eloquence, the merit of ſtyle to that of the thought[a]; and in every thing, artifice to truth. I will venture to affirm it, the only ſuperiority which enlightened

[a] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 584.

nations have over us is, that they have brought to perfection the art of feigning, and found the ſecret to affix a maſk on every countenance.

That this is the great aim of rhetoric I perceive by all that you have ſaid, and to attain to it words are arrayed in pleaſing colours. Far therefore from ſtudying the precepts of ſuch an art, I ſhall only regard the obſervation of Ariſtotle, who, when I once aſked him by what marks a good work might be known, anſwered me, "If it is impoſſible to add any thing to it, or to take the leaſt thing from it [x]."

After this converſation Euclid and I left the library, and took a walk toward the Lycæum. As we went he ſhewed me a letter which he had juſt received from the wife of one of his friends, the orthography of which appeared to me faulty. Sometimes an *i* was written for an *e*, or a *z* for a *d*. I have always been ſurpriſed, ſaid I, at this negligence of the Athenian ladies. They write, anſwered he, as they ſpeak, and as words were formerly pronounced [y]. Changes then, replied I, have taken place in your pronunciation? Very many, anſwered Euclid: formerly, for example, we ſaid *himera* (day); afterward we ſaid *hémera*, the firſt *e* cloſe; and afterward *hèmera*, the firſt *e* open.

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[x] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 2, cap. 5, t. ii. p. 22.
[y] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.

Cuſtom, to render certain words more ſonorous, or more majeſtic, drops ſome letters and adds others; and theſe continued alterations deprive thoſe who wiſh to make reſearches into the origin of the language of all hope of ſucceſs [z]. Cuſtom likewiſe condemns to oblivion many words which were formerly in common uſe, and which, perhaps, it would not be amiſs to revive.

As we entered the firſt court of the Lycæum, our attention was excited by loud exclamations that proceeded from one of the halls of the gymnaſium. The rhetorician Leon and the ſophiſt Pythodorus were engaged in a violent diſpute. We had great difficulty to make our way through the crowd. Come near, ſaid the former to us; here is Pythodorus, who maintains that his art does not differ from mine, and that the object which we both have in view is to deceive thoſe who liſten to us. What effrontery from a man who ought to bluſh at the name of ſophiſt!

That name, replied Pythodorus, was formerly honourable; it is that which thoſe aſſumed who from the time of Solon to Pericles dedicated themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom, for that is its real import. Plato wiſhing to ridicule ſome by whom it had been abuſed [a], rendered it contemptible

[z] Lyſ. in Theomn. p. 18. Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 414. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 234.

[a] Plat. in Gorg. in Protag. in Hipp. &c.

among his diſciples. Yet do I ſee it every day applied to Socrates [b], whom you no doubt reſpect, and to the orator Antiphon, whom you profeſs to eſteem [c]. But the preſent queſtion is not merely concerning a name; I here lay it down in your preſence, and am prepared without other intereſt than that of truth, or other aid than that of reaſon, to prove to you that the rhetorician and the ſophiſt employ the ſame means to arrive at the ſame end.

I can ſcarcely reſtrain my indignation, exclaimed Leon. What! ſhall vile mercenaries, ſhall mere workmen in words [d], who accuſtom their diſciples to arm themſelves with ſophiſms and quibbles, and to defend indifferently either ſide of a queſtion, ſhall theſe have the effrontery to compare themſelves to thoſe reſpectable men who defend the cauſe of innocence at the bar, demonſtrate the true intereſts of the ſtate in the popular aſſembly, and eſſentially benefit mankind by the diſcourſes they pronounce in honour of virtue? I do not compare men, ſaid Pythodorus; I ſpeak of the art they profeſs. We ſhall ſoon ſee whether theſe reſpectable men be not more to be dreaded than the moſt dangerous ſophiſts.

Will you not grant me that both your diſciples

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[b] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.
[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1, p. 729.
[d] Mneſarch. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1, cap. 18, t. i. p. 148.

and mine, little ſolicitous to arrive at truth, commonly ſtop ſhort at probability [e]?—Yes; but the former found their reaſonings on great probabilities, and the latter on frivolous appearances.—And what do you underſtand by probable?—That which appears ſuch to all, or the greater part of men [f].—Conſider well your anſwer; for it will follow from it, that thoſe ſophiſts who by their eloquence have obtained the ſuffrages of a nation have advanced only probable propoſitions.—They can only dazzle the multitude; the wiſe will not be miſled by the illuſion.

Muſt we then, aſked Pythodorus, appeal to the tribunal of the ſages to know whether a thing is probable or not?—No doubt, replied Leon, and I add to my definition that, in certain caſes, that only ought to be conſidered as probable which is acknowledged to be ſuch by the greater number of ſages, or at leaſt by the beſt informed and moſt diſcerning among them [g].—It happens then, ſometimes, that it is ſo difficult to know what is probable, that it even eſcapes the greater part of ſages, and can only be perceived by the moſt diſcerning?—Well.—And when you heſitate concerning the reality of theſe probabilities which are imperceptible to almoſt all the world, do you repair to this ſmall

[e] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 514 et 517; lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 584.
[f] Id. Topic. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. i. p. 180.
[g] Id. ibid.

number of men of ſuperior knowledge and diſcernment to conſult them?—No; I rely on my own judgment, and preſume what their deciſion would be. But what concluſion do you draw from theſe tireſome ſubtleties?

You ſee, continued Pythodorus, that you make no ſcruple to adopt an opinion which you have decided to be probable by your own authority, and that deceitful probabilities ſuffice to determine the orator as well as the ſophiſt [h].—But the former is ſincere, and the other not.—They then only differ by intention; and this in fact has been confeſſed by philoſophical writers [i]. I will endeavour however to deprive you of this advantage.

You accuſe the ſophiſts of maintaining indifferently either ſide of a queſtion; but I would aſk you whether rhetoric as well as logic does not lay down rules ſucceſsfully to defend two contrary opinions [k].—I grant it; but we exhort the young pupil not to make an improper uſe of theſe rules [l]. He ought to know them, that he may be able to avoid the ſnares that an artful enemy may prepare for him [m].—That is to ſay, after you have put into the hands of a youth a poniard and a ſword,

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[h] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 24, t. ii. p. 581.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 514.
[k] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 7 et 53, t. i. p. 199 et 243.
[l] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 457.
[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 514.

you ſay to him: When the enemy ſhall preſs you cloſely, and you find yourſelf ſtrongly urged by intereſt, ambition, and the deſire of vengeance, ſtrike with one of theſe weapons, but make no uſe of the other, even though you were certain it would gain you the victory [n]. I ſhould admire this moderation; but to be certain whether he will really exerciſe it, let us follow him to the combat, or rather permit me to lead you to it myſelf.

Let us ſuppoſe that you are to conduct the proſecution of a man whoſe crime is not proved; and ſuffer me to recall to your memory the precepts which the teachers of your art every day inculcate to their pupils. I ſhall ſay to you: Your firſt object is to perſuade [o], and to effect this perſuaſion, you muſt pleaſe, and move the paſſions [p]. You have wit and abilities, and are in poſſeſſion of the higheſt reputation. Let us derive profit from theſe advantages [q]: they have already inſpired your hearers with confidence in you [r], which you will increaſe by interſperſing through the exordium and the following parts of your diſcourſe, maxims of juſtice and probity [s]; but eſpecially by

[n] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 14, t. i. p. 293.
[o] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 515.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 584. Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1, t. i. p. 541. Quinctil. lib. 3, cap. 5, p. 154.
[q] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 515.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 547. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 650.
[s] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 530, &c.

flattering your judges, whoſe knowledge, ſenſe, and equity you will be careful to extol [t]. Neglect not the ſuffrages of the aſſembly; it will be eaſy for you to obtain them. Nothing ſo eaſy, ſaid Socrates, as to praiſe the Athenians in the midſt of Athens; conform to their taſte, and repreſent every thing as praiſe-worthy which they are inclined to honour [u].

According to the nature of your cauſe, give to the defects or good qualities of the two parties the colours of the virtues or vices on which they border. Place in the moſt advantageous light the real or imaginary merit of him for whom you ſpeak. Excuſe his failings, or rather declare they are the exceſs of virtue. Transform inſolence into greatneſs of mind, temerity into courage, prodigality into liberality, the tranſports of anger into expreſſions of frankneſs, and you will dazzle and miſlead your judges [x].

As the nobleſt privilege of rhetoric is to embelliſh and diſfigure, to magnify and diminiſh all objects [y], fear not to paint your adverſary in the blackeſt colours; dip your pen in gall; be careful to aggravate his ſmalleſt failings, to inſtil your

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[t] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 37, t. ii. p. 643.
[u] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 532.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Iſocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 123. Plat. in. Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 568. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 298.

venom into his beſt actions [a], and to ſpread a gloomy ſhade over his character. Is he circumſpect and prudent; ſay that he is ſuſpicious and capable of treachery [a].

Some orators crown the victim before they give the fatal blow: they begin by beſtowing praiſe on the adverſe party, and, after having removed far from them all ſuſpicion of inſincerity, they at their leiſure plunge the poniard in his heart [b]. If you heſitate to employ this refinement in miſchief, I can ſupply you with another weapon no leſs formidable. When your adverſary ſhall overwhelm you with the weight of his arguments, inſtead of anſwering them, attack him with ridicule, and you will read his defeat in the eyes of your judges [c].

If he has only adviſed an act of injuſtice, affirm that he is more culpable than if he had committed it; if he has merely followed the ſuggeſtions of another, maintain that the action is more criminal than the advice. This I have ſeen done, not long ago, by one of our orators *, in his pleadings on two different cauſes [d].

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[a] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 4 et 7, t. ii. p. 617 et 620.

[a] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 9, t. ii. p. 532.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 15, t. ii. p. 602.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 18, t. ii. p. 606. Cicer. Orat. cap. 26, p. 441. Id. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 54, p. 244.

* Leodamas proſecuting the orator Calliſtratus, and afterward Chabrias the general.

[d] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1, t. ii. cap. 7, p. 527.

If the written laws are expreſsly againſt you, have recourſe to the law of nature, and ſhew that that is more equitable than any written laws; but if the latter are favourable to your cauſe, inſiſt with all your force that the judges cannot diſpenſe with them under any pretext [e].

Your adverſary, confeſſing his fault, may perhaps allege that he committed it through ignorance, or by accident; maintain that it was the conſequence of a premeditated deſign [f]. Does he offer an oath as a proof of his innocence; ſay, without heſitation, that he only means to evade juſtice by perjury: but if you propoſe to confirm by an oath what you are about to advance, declare that no act can be more religious or more noble than to commit our cauſe into the hands of the gods [g].

If you have no witneſſes, endeavour to ſhew that this kind of evidence is uncertain and unimportant; if you have, uſe every argument to prove its weight and value [h].

Is it advantageous to you that the ſlaves of the adverſe party ſhould be put to the torture, maintain that this is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs; but

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[e] Ariſtot. Rhetor. cap. 15, t. ii. p. 543. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 296.

[f] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 5, t. ii. p. 618.

[g] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 15, t. ii. p. 546. Quinctil. lib. 5, cap. 6.

[h] Ariſtot. ibid. p. 544. Quinctil. ibid. cap. 7.

would you wiſh to prevent yours from being ſubjected to the ſame trial, ſay that it is the moſt uncertain and moſt dangerous of all[i].

Theſe means facilitate the victory, but it is neceſſary to enſure it. During the whole action, rather loſe ſight of your cauſe than of your judges; till you have ſubdued them you cannot triumph over your adverſary. Inſpire them with eſteem and compaſſion for your client; let grief be painted in your countenance, and manifeſt in the accents of your voice. If they ſhed a tear, if you ſee the balance of juſtice tremble in their hands, fall on them with all the ardour of eloquence, aſſociate their paſſions with yours, excite againſt your enemy their contempt, their indignation, their anger[k]; and if he be diſtinguiſhed by his employments and his riches, awaken alſo their jealouſy, and incline it toward that hatred by which it is ever cloſely followed[l].

All theſe precepts, Leon, are ſo many heads of accuſation againſt the art which you profeſs. We may judge of the effects they produce from the alarming anſwer of a celebrated advocate of By-

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[i] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 15, t. i. p. 545. Quinctil. lib. 5, cap. 4.

[k] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 19, t. ii. p. 607. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 37, p. 646. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 44, p. 234. Id. Orat. cap. 37 et 38, p. 451. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 2, p. 290.

[l] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 562. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 648. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2, cap. 51, t. i. p. 240.

zantium, whom I aſked, not long ago, what the laws in his country had ordained in certain caſes. What I pleaſe, replied he[m].

Leon endeavoured to throw entirely on the orators the reproaches which Pythodorus had caſt on rhetoric. No, replied the latter, with warmth, the queſtion is concerning the inherent miſchiefs of this fatal art. I only recall to your memory what is found in every treatiſe on rhetoric, what is every day practiſed by our moſt eſteemed orators, and the leſſons which our ableſt teachers inculcate, and which both you and I have learned in our infancy.

Let us enter the places in which youth are initiated into the art of oratory in the ſame manner as ſtage-players or athletæ are prepared for their exhibitions or their combats. Obſerve what attention is paid to their looks, their voice, their attitude, their geſture[n]. With what labour are they taught, ſometimes to mix the falſe colours with which they are to embelliſh their language, and ſometimes perfidiouſly to unite treachery with force! What impoſture! what barbarity! Are theſe the ornaments of eloquence? Is this the retinue of innocence and truth? I believed myſelf in their aſylum, and I find myſelf in a fearful haunt, in which the moſt ſubtle poiſons are diſtilled

[m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 297.

[n] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 584. Cicer. Orat. cap. 18, t. i. p. 434.

and the moſt murderous weapons forged; and what is yet more ſtrange, theſe weapons and theſe poiſons are ſold under the protection of government, and thoſe who make the moſt cruel uſe of them rewarded with admiration and power.

I have not wiſhed to extract the poiſon concealed in almoſt all the leſſons of our rhetoricians. But tell me, what is the tendency of that principle of which I have already ſpoken, and on which the whole edifice of rhetoric is founded; I mean that we ſhould be able powerfully to move the paſſions of our judges? Why, juſt heaven! ſhould we move thoſe whoſe emotions it would be our duty to calm, and to whom tranquillity of mind can never be more neceſſary? What! while it is univerſally acknowledged that the paſſions pervert the judgment, and change in our ſight the very nature of things[o], it is preſcribed to an orator to rouſe the paſſions in his own mind, and excite thoſe of his hearers and his judges[p]! yet have my opponents the effrontery to maintain that an equitable deciſion may be the reſult of ſo many impetuous and diſorderly emotions.

Let us repair to the places in which are diſcuſſed the great intereſts of the ſtate. What

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[o] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 2, t. ii. p. 515; lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 547.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 7, p. 590. Cicer. Orat. cap. 38, t. i, p. 451.

ſhall we find there? The thunders and lightnings of the roſtrum employed to inflame the moſt violent of the paſſions, and to produce the moſt deſtructive ravages; a ſimple people, who come thither to ſeek the praiſes which inſpire them with inſolence, and emotions which render them unjuſt; and orators who inceſſantly warn us to be on our guard againſt the eloquence of their adverſaries. Eloquence therefore is highly dangerous? Yet is it that alone by which we are governed, and ruin awaits the ſtate[q].

There is another kind of rhetoric which thoſe orators cultivate whoſe whole merit is to employ the moſt evident falſehoods and the moſt extravagant hyperboles to celebrate ordinary and frequently deſpicable men. When this ſpecies of adulation was introduced, virtue ſhould have renounced panegyric. But I ſhall not ſpeak of theſe vile productions; let thoſe who can endure to read them deal out their praiſe or their cenſure.

It hence follows that juſtice is inceſſantly inſulted in her ſanctuary, the ſtate in our general aſſemblies, and truth in panegyrics and funeral orations. Certainly it may with great reaſon be ſaid that rhetoric has been brought to perfection in our time, for I defy all ſucceeding ages to add a ſingle degree of atrocity to its miſchiefs.

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[q] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 466. Cicer. pro Flacc. cap. 7, t. v, p. 244.

At theſe words an Athenian, who had long prepared himſelf one day to harangue the people, ſaid, with a diſdainful ſmile, Pythodorus then condemns eloquence? No, replied he, but I condemn that rhetoric which neceſſarily occaſions its abuſe. You have no doubt your reaſons, replied the former, to proſcribe the graces of language; yet it has always been and always will be ſaid that an orator ought to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of thoſe whom he addreſſes by delighting their ears[r]. And I ſhall always ſay, replied Pythodorus, or rather reaſon and probity will always reply, that the nobleſt function, and the only duty, of an orator, is to enlighten and inform his judges.

And how would you have them enlightened and informed? impatiently replied another Athenian, who was indebted to the addreſs of his advocates for the gaining of ſeveral law-ſuits. As they are in the Areopagus, replied Pythodorus, where the orator, without emotion and without paſſions, contents himſelf with a ſtatement of facts the moſt ſimple and unadorned poſſible[s]; as they are in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and in other republics, where the orator is forbidden to addreſs the paſſions of his hearers[t]; and as they were formerly

[r] Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1, t. i. p. 541. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 21, p. 354. Id. Orat. cap. 44, p. 456, &c.

[s] Lyſ. adv. Simon. p. 88. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1, cap. 1, t. ii. p. 512.

[t] Ariſtot. ibid. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 292.

among us, when the parties, obliged to defend each his own cauſe, were unable to avail themſelves of diſcourſes compoſed by eloquent pens [w].

I return to my firſt propoſition: I have affirmed that the art of the rhetoricians is not eſſentially diſtinct from that of the ſophiſts [x]; I have proved my aſſertion by ſhewing that both, not only in their effects, but alſo in their principles, tend to the ſame end by means equally inſidious. If there is any difference between them, it is that the orator applies himſelf more to inflame, and the ſophiſt to calm, our paſſions [y].

I perceive that Leon is ready to thunder upon me with all the pompous and menacing apparatus of rhetoric; but I muſt requeſt him to confine himſelf to the queſtion, and to conſider that the ſtrokes which he ſhall aim at me muſt fall at the ſame time on many excellent philoſophers. I might indeed have cited in my favour the teſtimonies of Plato and Ariſtotle [z]; but theſe great authorities are uſeleſs when I am able to adduce ſuch ſolid arguments in proof of what I have advanced.

Pythodorus had ſcarcely ended when Leon undertook the defence of rhetoric; but as it was late we determined to retire.

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[w] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12, t. i. p. 346. Quinctil. lib. 2, cap. 15, p. 123. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2, p. 304.

[x] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 520.

[y] Cicer. Orat. cap. 19, t. i. p. 434.

[z] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 463, &c. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2, cap. 24, p. 581; lib. 3, cap. 1, p. 584.

NOTES.

NOTES.

CHAP. XXXIX. Page 1.

On the Reſidence of Xenophon at Scillus.

A SHORT time before the battle of Mantinea, in the year 362 before Chriſt, the Eleans deſtroyed Scillus, and Xenophon retired to Corinth (*a*), where I place him, in the ninth chapter of this work. An ancient author affirms that he there ended his days (*b*). But according to Pauſanias, his tomb was preſerved in the diſtrict of Scillus (*c*); and Plutarch aſſures us that in this retreat Xenophon compoſed his hiſtory (*d*), which comes down to the year 357 before Chriſt (*e*). We may therefore ſuppoſe that, after having reſided ſome time at Corinth, he returned to Scillus, where he paſſed the latter years of his life.

(*a*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 2, § 53.
(*b*) Demetr. Magn. ap. Diogen. Laert. ibid. § 56.
(*c*) Pauſan. lib. 5, p. 389.
(*d*) Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605.
(*e*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 601. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 428.

CHAP. XL. PAGE 53.

On the Foundation of Meſſina.

PAUSANIAS tells us, that after the taking of Ira, that is about the year 668 before Chriſt, the Meſſenians, under the conduct of Gorgus, ſon of Ariſtomenes, went into Italy, and, joining their arms with thoſe of Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, drove out the inhabitants, and gave to that city the name of Meſſena (at preſent Meſſina). (*f*)

This account is directly contrary both to that of Herodotus and that of Thucydides. According to the former, Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, having ſubdued Ionia, which had revolted againſt him, the people of Samos, and ſome of the inhabitants of Miletus, retired to Sicily, where, by the advice of Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, they ſeized on the city of Zancle (*g*). The date of this event is toward the year 495 before Chriſt, and poſterior by about 173 years to the time at which Pauſanias places the reign of Anaxilas, and the change of the name of Zancle into that of Meſſena.

Thucydides relates, that a body of Samians and other Ionians, driven from their country by the Medes, ſeized on Zancle in Sicily. He adds that, not long after, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made himſelf maſter of this city, and gave it the name of Meſſena, becauſe he was himſelf originally from Meſſena (*h*).

Father Corſini, who had at firſt ſuſpected that there might have been two princes of the name of Anaxilas (*i*),

(*f*) Pauſan. lib. 4, cap. 23, p. 335.
(*g*) Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 22 et 23.
(*h*) Thucyd. lib. 6, cap. 4 et 5.
(*i*) Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 140.

has acknowledged, on farther examination, that Pauſanias has miſtaken the time (*k*). It was manifeſt, indeed, from various circumſtances, that Anaxilas reigned at the time of the battle of Marathon, or about the year 490 before Chriſt. I ſhall only add two obſervations to thoſe of Father Corſini.

1ſt. Before this battle there had been a revolt in Meſſenia, which, in part, prevented the Lacedæmonians from being preſent at the battle (*l*). It ſucceeded no better than the former had done, and it was then, no doubt, that the Meſſenians, after their defeat, took refuge with Anaxilas of Rhegium, whom they induced to ſeize on the city Zancle, which afterward bore the name of Meſſena.

2dly. If it were true, as Pauſanias affirms, that this city had changed its name immediately after the ſecond war of Meſſenia, it would follow that the ancient coins on which we read *Dancle*, muſt be anterior to the year 668 before Chriſt, which their fabric will not permit us to ſuppoſe.

CHAP. XLI. Page 85.

On the Number of the Tribes of Sparta.

In almoſt all the great cities of Greece the citizens were divided into tribes. At Athens there were ten tribes. Cragius (*m*) ſuppoſes Lacedæmon to have contained ſix, viz. thoſe of the Heraclidæ, the Ægidæ, the Limnatæ, the Cynoſuræans, the Meſſoatæ, and the Pitanatæ. The exiſtence of the firſt of theſe is not proved by any expreſs

(*k*) Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 155.
(*l*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 698.
(*m*) De Rep. Laced. lib. 1, cap. 6.

teſtimony; Cragius has only founded it on very feeble conjectures, and I have therefore rejected it.

The five other tribes are expreſsly mentioned in authors or on ancient monuments; that of the Ægidæ, in Herodotus (*n*); thoſe of the Cynoſuræans and Pitanatæ, in Heſychius (*o*); that of the Meſſoatæ, in Stephen of Byzantium (*p*); and laſtly, that of the Limnatæ, in an inſcription which the Abbé Fourmont diſcovered in the ruins of Sparta (*q*). Pauſanias mentions four of theſe tribes, when he tells us that at the celebration of a ſacrifice which had been offered to Diana from the earlieſt times, a diſpute aroſe between the Limnatæ, the Cynoſuræans, the Meſſoatæ, and the Pitanatæ (*r*).

It may here be aſked whether, becauſe we find no mention of more than theſe five tribes, it follows that they ſhould therefore be confined to that number. I anſwer, that we have very ſtrong preſumptive reaſons why they ſhould not be increaſed. We have ſeen above, that there were at Athens ſeveral bodies conſiſting each of ten magiſtrates choſen from the ten tribes. In the ſame manner we find at Sparta ſeveral magiſtracies, exerciſed each by five public officers; as that of the Ephori, that of the Bidiæi (*s*), and that of the Agathoergi (*t*), and we have reaſon to believe that each tribe furniſhed one of theſe officers.

(*n*) Lib. 4, cap. 149.
(*o*) In Κυισσ. et in Πιτανάτ.
(*p*) In Μίσσ.
(*q*) Inſcript. Fourmont. in Biblioth. Reg. Fran.
(*r*) Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 16, p. 249.
(*s*) Id. ibid. cap. 11, p. 231.
(*t*) Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 67.

SAME CHAP. PAGE 85.

On the Plan of Lacedæmon.

I HAVE ventured, from the feeble lights which are afforded us by ancient authors, to preſent the reader with ſome general ideas on the topography of Lacedæmon.

According to Thucydides, this city did not form one continued whole, like that of Athens, but was divided into towns or hamlets, as were the ancient cities of Greece (*u*).

Rightly to underſtand this paſſage, we muſt recollect that the earlieſt inhabitants of Greece firſt ſettled in towns without walls, and that, in the ſequel, they united a number of theſe towns by one common encloſure. Of this we have numerous examples. Tegea was compoſed of nine ſuch hamlets (*x*), Mantinea of four or five (*y*), Patræ of ſeven, Dyme of eight (*z*), &c.

The inhabitants of theſe towns, when thus united, did not intermingle with each other: they dwelt in different quarters, and formed different tribes; in conſequence of which, the ſame name ſignified the tribe and the quarter in which it was ſituated. My proofs for Lacedæmon in particular are as follows:

Cynoſura, ſays Heſychius, is a tribe of Laconia (*a*); it is a place in Laconia, ſays the ſcholiaſt on Callimachus (*b*).

(*u*) Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 10.
(*x*) Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 45, p. 692.
(*y*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5, p. 553. Ephor. ap. Harpocr. in Μαντιν. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 331.
(*z*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 337.
(*a*) Heſych. in Κυνοσ.
(*b*) Hymn. in Dian. v. 94.

According to Suidas, Meſſoa was a place (*c*); according to Stephen of Byzantium, it was a place and a tribe of Laconia (*d*). According to Strabo (*e*), whoſe text has been happily reſtored by Salmaſius (*f*), Meſſoa made a part of Lacedæmon; and laſtly, Pitane is ſometimes called a tribe (*g*), and ſometimes a town (*h*).

We now eaſily underſtand why ſome writers ſay that the poet Alcman was of Meſſoa, and others that he was of Lacedæmon (*i*); we alſo conceive why a Spartan named Thraſybulus, having been killed in a battle, Plutarch does not ſay that he was brought home on his buckler to Lacedæmon, but to Pitane (*k*), becauſe he was of that borough, and was there to be buried.

We have ſeen, in a preceding note, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes; their capital muſt then have been compoſed of five hamlets; it therefore only remains for me to juſtify the poſition I have aſſigned to each in my plan.

1ſt. HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE LIMNATÆ. Their name was derived from the Greek word Λίμνη, which ſignifies a lake or marſh. According to Strabo, the ſuburb of Sparta was called the marſhes, becauſe that place had formerly been a moraſs (*l*). But the ſuburb of Sparta muſt have been to the northward of the city, becauſe travellers moſt frequently entered it on that ſide.

2dly. HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE CYNOSURÆANS. The word Cynoſura ſignifies the *tail of a dog*. It was a

(*c*) Suid. in Μεσσ.
(*d*) Steph in Μεσ-θ.
(*e*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 364. Caſaub. ibid.
(*f*) In Plinian. Exercit. p. 825.
(*g*) Heſych. in Πιτάν.
(*h*) Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 20.
(*i*) Salmaſ. ibid. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 4, cap. 17.
(*k*) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235.
(*l*) Strab. lib. 8, p. 363.

name uſually given to promontories or mountains which had that form. A branch of mount Taygetus, of this figure, extended to Sparta, and we have ſhewn that there was in Laconia a place called Cynoſura. We are therefore authorized to conjecture that the hamlet which bore this name was near that branch of Mount Taygetus.

3dly. HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE PITANATÆ. Pauſanias, leaving the forum, takes his way toward the weſt, paſſes before the theatre, and afterward comes to the hall in which the Crotani, who made a part of the Pitanatæ, aſſembled (*m*). This hamlet muſt then be placed in front of the theatre, the poſition of which is known, ſince veſtiges of it ſtill remain. This is confirmed by a paſſage in Heſychius, and another in Herodotus, which ſhew that the theatre was in the hamlet of the Pitanatæ (*n*).

4thly. HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE MESSOATÆ. From the hamlet of the Pitanatæ Pauſanias proceeds to the Plataniſtas (*o*), which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Therapne. Near the Plataniſtas he finds the tomb of the poet Alcman (*p*), who being of Meſſoa muſt have been there buried.

5thly. HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE ÆGIDÆ. Pauſanias next conducts us to the town or hamlet of the Limnatæ (*q*), which we have placed in the northern part of the city. On his way he finds the tomb of Ægeus (*r*), who gave his name to the tribe of the Ægidæ (*s*).

I have not ſurrounded all theſe hamlets with an enclo-

(*m*) Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 240.
(*n*) Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 67. Heſych. in Πιτανατ.
(*o*) Pauſan. ibid. p. 242.
(*p*) Id. ibid. cap. 15, p. 244.
(*q*) Id. ibid. cap. 16, p. 248.
(*r*) Id. ibid. cap. 15, p. 245.
(*s*) Herodot. lib. 4, cap. 149.

ſure, becauſe, in the times of which I treat, Sparta had no walls.

The temples and other public edifices have been placed nearly in the poſitions aſſigned to them by Pauſanias. In this particular a rigorous preciſion cannot be expected; the principal object was to give a general idea of this celebrated city.

CHAP. XLII. Page 97.

On the Manner in which the Spartans treated the Helots.

THE Lacedæmonians, alarmed at the loſs of Pylos, which had been taken from them by the Athenians, reſolved to ſend freſh troops to Braſidas, who was then in Thrace. For this they had two motives; the firſt to continue to make a diverſion which might draw the arms of Athens into diſtant countries, and the other to enliſt and ſend away for Thrace a body of thoſe Helots whoſe youth and valour inceſſantly inſpired them with well-founded fears. Liberty was therefore promiſed to thoſe among them who ſhould be found moſt to have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the preceding wars. A great number claimed the proffered reward, and two thouſand were choſen from among them, with whom the ſtate kept its word. They were crowned with flowers, and conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to the temples, which was the principal ceremony of enfranchiſement. A ſhort time after, ſays Thucydides, they all diſappeared, and no perſon ever knew in what manner they were thus, to a man, deſtroyed (*l*).

(*l*) Thucyd. lib. 4, cap. 80.

Plutarch, who has copied Thucydides, remarks alſo, that it was not known at the time, nor has ever yet been diſcovered, by what kind of death theſe two thouſand men periſhed (*m*).

Laſtly, Diodorus Siculus aſſerts, that their maſters received orders to put them to death within their houſes (*n*). But how could he be informed of a circumſtance with which ſuch an hiſtorian as Thucydides, who lived at the time when this barbarous maſſacre was prepetrated, was unacquainted?

Whatever the truth may be, we have here two facts which ought carefully to be diſtinguiſhed, becauſe they originate from two different cauſes; the one the enfranchiſement of two thouſand Helots, and the other the death of theſe Helots. Liberty was certainly granted them by order of the ſenate and the people; but it is alſo certain that they were not put to death by a decree enacted by the ſupreme power. No nation would have ſanctioned ſo black an act of perfidy; and in this particular caſe it is manifeſt that the aſſembly of the Spartans only emancipated theſe Helots to arm and ſend them into Thrace. The Ephori, about the ſame time, ſent away a thouſand other Helots to the army of Braſidas (*o*). As theſe detachments ſometimes left Sparta in the night (*p*), the people might ſuppoſe that the two thouſand men, who had been freed from ſervitude, had been ſent to their place of deſtination; and when they diſcovered their miſtake, it might be eaſy to perſuade them that the magiſtrates, being in poſſeſſion of proofs that they had conſpired againſt the ſtate, had privately put them to death, or had contented themſelves

(*m*) Plut. in. Lyc. t. i. p. 56.
(*n*) Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 117.
(*o*) Id. ibid.
(*p*) Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 10.

with baniſhing them from the territories of the republic. It is impoſſible that we ſhould now be able ſatisfactorily to elucidate a fact which, in the time of Thucydides, was enveloped with obſcurity: it is ſufficient that I have ſhewn that this crime ought not to be imputed to the nation, but rather to the falſe policy of the ephori then in office, who, poſſeſſing more power and leſs virtue than their predeceſſors, no doubt pretended that every thing is lawful when the ſafety of the ſtate is in queſtion; for it muſt be obſerved that the principles of juſtice and morality were then beginning to be corrupted.

Other cruelties exerciſed by the Lacedæmonians on the Helots are alſo related. An author named Myron affirms that, inceſſantly to remind them they were ſlaves, they annually received a number of ſtripes with a whip (*q*). Now there were perhaps a hundred thouſand Helots in Laconia and Meſſenia; let any one therefore reflect for a moment on the abſurdity of this project, and the difficulty of executing it, and then ſay what credit is to be given to this tale. The ſame author adds, that a puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe maſters who did not mutilate ſuch of the Helots as were born with a ſtrong conſtitution of body (*r*). But can we believe that all thoſe Helots who were enrolled as ſoldiers, and ſerved with ſo much diſtinction in the army, were maimed and cripples?

It happens but too often that we judge of the manners of a people from particular examples which have made impreſſion on a traveller, or been related to an hiſtorian. When Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, to inſpire their children with an averſion for drunkenneſs, brought before them a Helot who had been deprived of his reaſon by

(*q*) Myr. ap Athen. lib. 14, p. 657.
(*r*) Id. ibid. Spanh. in Ariſtoph. Plut. v. 4.

wine (*s*); I cannot but doubt that he has taken a particular caſe for a general rule; or at leaſt that he has, on this occaſion, confounded the Helots with the domeſtic ſlaves, the condition of whom was very inferior to that of the former. But I give entire credit to Plutarch when he aſſures us that the Helots were forbidden to ſing the poetry of Alcman and Terpander (*t*); becauſe this poetry inſpiring the love of glory and liberty, it was the part of ſound policy to forbid its recital to men whoſe courage there was ſo much reaſon to fear.

CHAP. XLV. Page 126.

On the Inſtitution of the Ephori.

THE greater part of authors aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe magiſtrates to Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus. Such is the opinion of Ariſtotle (*u*), Plutarch (*x*), Cicero (*y*), Valerius Maximus (*z*), and Dion Chryſoſtom (*a*). To this liſt may be added Xenophon, who ſeems to attribute the origin of the ephori to the principal citizens of Lacedæmon (*b*); and Euſebius, who in his Chronicle places it at the time when Theopompus reigned (*c*).

Two other teſtimonies deſerve the more attention as

(*s*) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
(*t*) Id. in Lycurg. ibid.
(*u*) De Rep. lib. 5, cap. 11, t. ii. p. 407.
(*x*) In Lycurg. t. i. 43. Id. ad. Princ. Inerud. t. ii. 779.
(*y*) De. Leg. lib. 3, cap. 7, t. iii. p. 164.
(*z*) Lib. 4, cap. 1, extern. No. 8.
(*a*) Orat. 66, p. 565.
(*b*) De. Rep. Laced. p. 683.
(*c*) Euſeb. Chron. lib. 2, p. 151. Freret. Defenſ. de la Chronol. p. 171.

they contain tolerably preciſe dates. According to Plutarch, king Cleomenes III. thus addreſſed the general aſſembly of Lacedæmon. "Lycurgus contented himſelf with "joining in authority with the two kings a body of ſenators. "During a long time the republic knew no other magi-"ſtracy. But the war of Meſſenia (in the time of Theopom-"pus) continuing to be protracted, the kings thought it their "duty to conſide the care of adminiſtering juſtice to the "ephori, who at firſt were only their officers. But in the "ſequel the ſucceſſors of theſe magiſtrates uſurped the "authority, and one of them named Aſteropus rendered "them independent (*d*)."

Plato (*e*) enumerates three cauſes which at Lacedæmon have prevented the royal authority from becoming deſpotic. The two laſt are theſe: "A man animated with a divine "ſpirit (Lycurgus) limited the power of the kings by that "of the ſenate; afterward another ſaviour happily counter-"balanced the authority of the kings and ſenate by that of "the ephori." The ſaviour of whom Plato here ſpeaks can only be Theopompus.

On the other ſide Herodotus (*f*), Plato (*g*), and an ancient author named Satyrus (*h*), conſider Lycurgus as the inſtitutor of the ephori.

I anſwer that, according to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived ſoon after Plato, ſome writers attributed to Lycurgus all the regulations relative to the government of Lacedæmon (*i*). The two paſſages of Plato which I have cited are a ſufficient example of this. In his eighth letter (*k*)

(*d*) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.
(*e*) De Leg. lib. 3, t. ii. p. 691.
(*f*) Lib. 1, cap. 65.
(*g*) Epiſt. 8, t. iii. p. 354.
(*h*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 1, § 68.
(*i*) Heraclid. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
(*k*) Plat. Epiſt. 8, t. iii. p. 354.

he advances in general that Lycurgus inſtituted the ſenators and the ephori, while in his treatiſe on laws (*l*), where he has more circumſtantially related the fact, he aſcribes to theſe two bodies of magiſtrates two different origins.

The authority of Satyrus would have no weight with me, if it were not corroborated by that of Herodotus. I ſhall not ſay, with Marſham (*m*), that the word *ephori* has crept into the text of the latter author; but I ſhall ſay that his teſtimony may be reconciled with the accounts given by other writers (*n*).

It appears that the office of the ephori was a magiſtracy that had long been known to ſeveral of the ſtates of Peloponneſus, and among others to the Meſſenians (*o*). It muſt have been ſo likewiſe to the ancient inhabitants of Laconia, ſince the ephori raiſed the people againſt Lycurgus on account of his new laws (*p*). Beſides, Lycurgus had in ſome meaſure modelled the conſtitution of Sparta after that of Crete; and the Cretans had certain principal magiſtrates who were named *Coſmi*, and whom Ariſtotle compares to the ephori of Lacedæmon (*q*). In fine, the greater part of the authors, I have cited, do not ſpeak of the office of the ephori as a magiſtracy newly inſtituted by Theopompus; but as a curb by which that prince checked the power of the kings. It is therefore extremely probable, that Lycurgus left the ephori, who were inſtituted before his time, in poſſeſſion of ſeveral of their functions; and that Theopompus granted them prerogatives which afterwards cauſed the government to incline toward an oligarchy.

(*l*) Plat. t. ii. p. 691.
(*m*) Chron. Ægypt. p. 509.
(*n*) Frer. Defenſ. de le Chronol. p. 170.
(*o*) Polyb. lib. 4, p. 273.
(*p*) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227.
(*q*) Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 10, t. ii. p. 332.

CHAP. XLVI. Page 153.

On the Diviſion of Lands made by Lycurgus.

PLUTARCH mentions three opinions concerning this diviſion. According to the firſt, Lycurgus divided all the eſtates of Laconia into thirty thouſand portions, of which nine thouſand were given to the inhabitants of Sparta. According to the ſecond, he only beſtowed on the Spartans ſix thouſand portions, to which king Polydorus, who ſome time after terminated the firſt war of Meſſenia, added three thouſand others. According to the third opinion, the Spartans received the one half of theſe nine thouſand portions from Lycurgus, and the other half from Polydorus (*r*).

I have followed the firſt of theſe opinions, becauſe Plutarch, who had it in his power to conſult many works which are now loſt, ſeems to have given it the preference. I do not however abſolutely reject the others. It appears in fact, that in the time of Polydorus an increaſe took place in the portions allotted to the Spartans. A fragment of the poems of Tyrtæus informs us, that the people of Sparta then demanded a new diviſion of the lands (*s*). It is alſo related, that Polydorus ſaid, when he ſet out for Meſſenia, that he was going to a country which had not yet been divided (*t*). In fine, the conqueſt of Meſſenia muſt have introduced an augmentation of fortune among the Spartans.

The examination of this queſtion would lead me into

(*r*) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
(*s*) Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5, cap. 8, p. 396.
(*t*) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.

diſcuſſions equally prolix and uſeleſs; I ſhall therefore proceed to make ſome obſervations on two inadvertencies which appear to have eſcaped two men who have each done honour to their age and nation.

Ariſtotle ſays, that the legiſlator of Lacedæmon acted wiſely when he forbade the Spartans to ſell their portions; but that he ought not to have permitted them to make a donation of them during their life-time, or to bequeath them by will to whom they pleaſed (*u*). I do not believe that Lycurgus ever granted them this permiſſion. It was the ephorus Epitades who, to deprive his ſon of his inheritance, cauſed the decree to be paſſed which has given occaſion to the cenſure of Ariſtotle (*x*); a cenſure the more extraordinary, as that philoſopher wrote only a ſhort time after the death of Epitades.

Solon had permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter by the father's ſide, but not his uterine ſiſter. M. de Monteſquieu has ſatisfactorily proved that Solon intended by this law to prevent a huſband and wife from uniting in themſelves two inheritances (*y*), which might happen if a brother and ſiſter by the ſame mother ſhould intermarry; becauſe the one might ſucceed to the inheritance of the huſband of the mother, and the other to that of the ſecond huſband. M. de Monteſquieu obſerves, that this law was conformable to the ſpirit of the Grecian republics, and mentions a paſſage of Philo, who ſays that Lycurgus permitted the marriage of children by the ſame mother (*z*). To reſolve this difficulty, M. de Monteſquieu anſwers, that according to Strabo (*a*), when, at Lacedæmon, a ſiſter

(*u*) Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 329.
(*x*) Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797.
(*y*) Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5, chap. 5.
(*z*) Phil. de Spec. Jud. p. 779.
(*a*) Strab. lib. 10, p. 482.

married her brother, ſhe brought him as a marriage portion the half of the inheritance to which the brother ſucceeded. But Strabo in this place, ſpeaks, after the hiſtorian Ephorus, of the laws of Crete, and not of thoſe of Lacedæmon; and though he acknowledges, with that hiſtorian, that the latter are in part derived from thoſe of Minos, it does not follow that Lycurgus adopted that of which we now ſpeak. I will further affirm that he could not, in his ſyſtem, aſſign as a marriage portion to the ſiſter the half of the inheritance of the brother, ſince he had forbidden all marriage portions.

Even ſuppoſing that the law mentioned by Strabo was adopted at Lacedæmon, I do not think it can be applied to the paſſage in Philo. That author ſays that at Lacedæmon it was permitted to marry the ſiſter by the mother's ſide, but not the ſiſter by the father's ſide; which M. de Monteſquieu explains thus: "To prevent the property of the "family of the ſiſter from paſſing into that of the brother, "one half of the property of the brother was given as a "marriage portion to the ſiſter."

This explanation ſuppo two things: 1ſt, That a marriage portion muſt neceſſarily be given to the daughter, which is contrary to the laws of Lacedæmon; 2dly. That the ſiſter renounced the inheritance of her father to ſhare that her brother had received from his. To which I anſwer, that if the ſiſter was an only daughter, ſhe muſt ſucceed to the poſſeſſions of her father, and could not renounce them; if ſhe had a brother by the ſame bed, he muſt inherit; and that by marrying a brother by another bed, there was no danger of accumulating two inheritances.

If the law mentioned by Philo was founded on the diviſion of poſſeſſions, to explain it, in part, will not be difficult; as, for inſtance, a mother who had had by a former huſband

huſband an only daughter, and by a ſecond huſband ſeveral ſons, might, no doubt, marry that daughter to one of the younger ſons by the ſecond marriage, becauſe that ſon had no portion. In this ſenſe a Spartan might marry his uterine ſiſter. If this was what Philo intended to ſay, I can eaſily underſtand him; but when he adds that it was not permitted to marry a ſiſter by the father's ſide, I can no longer underſtand him, becauſe I can ſee no reaſon, derived from the diviſion of poſſeſſions, why theſe kind of marriages ſhould have been forbidden.

CHAP. XLVII. PAGE 176.

On the Cryptia.

I HERE ſpeak of the cryptia, which is commonly rendered by the word ambuſcade, and almoſt always confounded with the chace of the Helots.

According to Heraclides of Pontus, who lived a ſhort time before I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled in Greece, and to Plutarch, who did not live till long after, the youth of Lacedæmon were ordered from time to time to range over the country, armed with poniards, and, concealing themſelves during the day in ſecret places, to ſally forth at night, and murder ſuch of the Helots as they might find in their way (*b*).

Let us add to theſe two teſtimonies that of Ariſtotle, who, in a paſſage preſerved by Plutarch, tells us, that the Ephori, when they entered on office, declared war againſt the Helots, that they might be murdered with impunity (*c*).

(*b*) Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2813. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.

(*c*) Plut. ibid. p. 57.

There is no proof that this decree was authorized by the laws of Lycurgus, but every thing tends to convince us that it was accompanied by correctives; for the republic could never declare an effective and conſtant war againſt men who alone cultivated and farmed the lands, who ſerved in the armies and on board the fleets, and who were often admitted into the number of citizens. The decree of the Ephori could then have no other view than to exempt from puniſhment the Spartan who ſhould have the misfortune to kill a Helot. But becauſe a man has the power of life and death over another, it does not follow that he always makes uſe of that power.

Let us now examine, 1ſt. What was the object of the cryptia; 2dly. Whether the laws of Lycurgus inſtituted the chace of the Helots.

1ſt. Plato recommends (*d*), that in a well-governed ſtate the youth, as ſoon as they were of ſufficient age, ſhould, during two years, range the country with arms in their hands, braving the rigours of ſummer and winter, leading a hardy life, and ſubjected to a ſtrict diſcipline. Whatever name, adds he, we give to theſe youth, whether *crypti*, or agronomi, that is inſpectors of the fields, they will gain a knowledge of the country, and learn to defend it. As the cryptia was only practiſed among the Spartans, it is evident that Plato has here deſcribed the nature of it; and of this the following paſſage will no longer permit us to doubt: it is from the ſame treatiſe as the preceding (*e*). A Lacedæmonian, whom Plato introduces into his dialogue, expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: "We have an "exerciſe, named cryptia, which is of wonderful uſe to "familiarize us to hardſhip. We are obliged to march, in

(*d*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 6, t. ii. p. 763.
(*e*) Id. ibid. lib. 1, p. 633.

" winter, bare-footed, to ſleep without covering, to ſerve " ourſelves without the aſſiſtance of ſlaves, and rapidly to " traverſe the whole country both by night and day."

The correſpondence between theſe two paſſages is manifeſt. They deſcribe very explicitly the object of the cryptia; and it ought to be obſerved that in them not a word is ſaid of the chace of the Helots, which alſo is not mentioned in any of the works that ſtill remain of Ariſtotle, nor in thoſe of Thucydides, Xenophon, Iſocrates, and many other writers of the ſame age, though they frequently ſpeak of the revolts and deſertions of the Helots, and cenſure, in more than one paſſage, the laws of Lycurgus, and the cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians. I the more inſiſt on this negative proof, as ſome of theſe authors were Athenians, and lived in a republic which treated ſlaves with the greateſt humanity. I think I may conclude from theſe remarks, that, until about the time when Plato wrote his treatiſe on laws, the cryptia was not employed to ſhed the blood of the Helots.

This was an expedition in which the youth of Lacedæmon accuſtomed themſelves to military operations, ranged through the country, concealed themſelves in ambuſcade, with arms in their hands, as if an enemy were near, and leaving the place of their retreat during the night, repulſed thoſe Helots whom they found in their way. I think it probable that, a ſhort time after the death of Plato, the laws having loſt their force, the Spartan youth killed thoſe Helots who made too much reſiſtance, and perhaps gave occaſion to the decree of the Ephori which I have mentioned above. The abuſe increaſing from day to day, the cryptia was at length confounded with the chace of the Helots.

2dly. Let us now examine whether this chace was inſtituted by Lycurgus.

Heraclides of Pontus contents himſelf with ſaying that it was attributed to that legiſlator; but this is only a conjecture, tranſmitted to us by that author, who was poſterior to Plato. Nor does the following paſſage merit more attention. According to Plutarch (*f*), Ariſtotle attributed the inſtitution of the cryptia to Lycurgus; and as the hiſtorian, following the error of his time, confounds, in this place, the cryptia with the chace of the Helots, we have reaſon to ſuſpect that Ariſtotle confounded them alſo; but this would be only a preſumption. We are ignorant whether Ariſtotle, in the paſſage in queſtion, explained the functions of the crypti, and it appears that Plutarch has only cited to refute him; for he ſays, ſome lines after (*g*), that the origin of the cryptia, ſuch as he himſelf conceived it, muſt have been poſterior to the laws of Lycurgus.—Plutarch is not always accurate in his details of facts, and I could prove that, on this occaſion, his memory has more than once miſled him. Theſe are all the authorities to which I had to anſwer.

By carefully diſtinguiſhing the times, every thing may be eaſily reconciled. According to Ariſtotle the cryptia was inſtituted by Lycurgus. Plato explains its object, and believes it to be extremely uſeful. When the manners of Sparta became corrupted, the youth of Lacedæmon, we are told, abuſed this exerciſe to perpetrate horrid cruelties. I am ſo far from juſtifying theſe, that I ſuſpect the account we have received of them to be exaggerated. Who has told us that the Helots had no means of defending themſelves from theſe attacks? 1ſt. The time of the cryptia

(*f*) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.
(*g*) Id. ibid. p. 57.

was perhaps fixed. 2dly. It muſt have been difficult for the youth of Lacedæmon to diſperſe themſelves, without being perceived, over a country full of Helots, to whom it was of ſo much importance to watch their motions. 3dly. It is alſo not improbable that the individuals of Sparta, who derived their ſubſiſtence from the produce of their lands, would inform the Helots, their farmers, of the danger by which they were threatened. In all theſe caſes the Helots had only to ſuffer the youth to make their excurſion, and remain ſhut up in their houſes during the night.

I have thought it proper to juſtify, in this note, the account I have given of the cryptia in the body of the work. I have alſo thought that it was by no means neceſſary to repreſent men as more wicked than they are, or to aſſert, without proof, that a wiſe legiſlator had commanded the perpetration of cruelties.

CHAP. XLVII. Page 177.

On the Choice of a Wife among the Spartans.

AUTHORS differ concerning the cuſtoms of the ſtates of Greece, becauſe theſe cuſtoms have varied at different times. It appears that at Sparta marriages were contracted at the choice of the young couples, or that of their parents. I ſhall adduce as a proof the example of Lyſander, who, before his death, had affianced his two daughters to two citizens of Lacedæmon (*b*). I ſhall alſo cite the law which authorized the proſecution of any perſon who had contracted an improper marriage (*i*). On the

(*b*) Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 451.
(*i*) Id. ibid.

other hand, an ancient author, named Hermippus (*k*), relates that at Lacedæmon the girls who were to be married were ſhut up in a dark place, and that each young man took by chance her he was to marry. To reconcile theſe different accounts, we may conjecture that Lycurgus had in fact inſtituted the law mentioned by Hermippus, but that it afterwards fell into diſuſe. Plato has, in ſome manner, adopted it in his republic (*l*).

SAME CHAP. SAME PAGE.

At what Age the Lacedæmonians married.

THE Greeks early knew the danger of premature marriages. Heſiod (*m*) ſays that the age of the man ſhould not be too much under thirty; as to that of the woman, though the text is not clear, he ſeems to fix it at fifteen. Plato, in his republic (*n*), requires that the men ſhould not marry till the age of thirty, and fixes that of the women at twenty. According to Ariſtotle (*o*), the men ſhould be about thirty-ſeven, and the women about eighteen. I am of opinion that the uſual age at Sparta was thirty years for the men and twenty for the women. This conjecture is ſupported by two reaſons: 1ſt. It is the age preſcribed by Plato, who has frequently copied the laws of Lycurgus. 2dly. The Spartans had not a right to vote in the general

(*k*) Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 13, p. 555.
(*l*) Plat. de Rep. lib. 5, t. ii. p. 460.
(*m*) Heſiod. Oper. et Dies, v. 695.
(*n*) Plat. de Rep. ibid.
(*o*) Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7, cap. 16, t. ii. p. 446.

aſſembly till the age of thirty (*p*), which ſeems to ſuppoſe that before that time they could not be conſidered as heads of families.

CHAP. XLIX. PAGE 217.

On the Feſtivals of Hyacinth.

AMONG the inſcriptions which the Abbé Fourmont diſcovered in Laconia (*q*), there are two which are of the ſeventh, and perhaps, even, of the end of the eighth century before Chriſt, in which, to the name of the legate, or chief of a ſolemn deputation (ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣ), are added the names of ſeveral magiſtrates, and thoſe of the youths and maidens who had performed in the choruſes, and who on one of theſe monuments are named Hyalcadæ, which word, according to Heſychius (*r*) ſignified among the Spartans the youth and maidens who compoſed the choruſes. I imagine, therefore, that theſe antiquities have relation to the feſtivals of the Hyacinthia.

It is to be obſerved that, among the maidens who compoſed one of the choruſes, we find the name of Lycorias, daughter of Deuxidamus, or Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who lived towards the year 700 before Chriſt.

(*p*) Lib. Argum. Declam. 24, p. 558.
(*q*) Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. Franc.
(*r*) Heſych. in Ὑαλκ.

CHAP. L. PAGE 218.

On the Diviſion of the Armies among the Lacedæmonians.

IT is very difficult, and perhaps impoſſible, to give a juſt idea of this diviſion. As it often varied, ancient authors, without entering into details, have contented themſelves with relating facts, and afterward particular facts have been taken for general rules.

The Spartans were diſtributed into ſeveral claſſes, named MOPAI, or MOIPAI, that is to ſay, parts or diviſions.

But what were the ſubdiviſions of each claſs? The *lochos*, the *pentecoſtys*, the *enomotia*. In the text of this work I have thought that I might compare the *mora* to a regiment, the *lochos* to a battalion, and the *enomotia* to a company, though I did not mean it ſhould be ſuppoſed that I conſidered the compariſon as in every reſpect exact. In this note I ſhall preſerve the Greek names.

The ſubdiviſions I have mentioned are clearly explained by Xenophon (*s*), who lived at the time in which I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled. "Each mora," ſays he, "has for its officers a polemarch, four leaders of the lochi, "eight leaders of the pentecoſtyes, and ſixteen leaders of "the enomotiæ." Thus each mora contained four lochi, each lochos two pentecoſtyes, and each pentecoſtys two enomotiæ. It is to be obſerved that Xenophon here gives us a general rule, which is confirmed by this paſſage in Thucydides: "The king gave the word of command to the "polemarchs, who gave it to the lochagi, from whom it

(*s*) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

" paſſed to the pentecontateres, and from them to the eno-
" motarchi, who gave it to their reſpective enomotiæ (*t*)."

Sometimes, inſtead of making the moræ march, a detachment was made of ſome lochi (*u*). In the firſt battle of Mantinea, gained by the Lacedæmonians, in the year 418 before Chriſt, their army, under the command of king Agis, was divided into ſeven lochi. Each lochos, ſays Thucydides (*x*), contained four pentecoſtyes, and each pentecoſtys four enomotiæ. In this inſtance the compoſition of the lochos differs from that given by Xenophon; but the circumſtances were not the ſame. Xenophon ſpoke in general of the formation of the moræ, when all the parts were united and complete; and Thucydides of a particular caſe, and lochi ſeparated from their moræ.

How many moræ were there? Some ſay ſix, others only five. I ſhall firſt preſent the reader with the proofs in favour of the former opinion, and afterward with thoſe which are adduced to ſupport the latter.

1ſt. In three inſcriptions brought by the Abbé Fourmont from Meſſenia and Laconia (*y*), we find the names of the kings of Lacedæmon, thoſe of the ſenators, the ephori, the military officers, and different bodies of magiſtrates. In theſe inſcriptions we have ſix leaders of moræ, and as they are as ancient as the eighth century before Chriſt, and only about a hundred and thirty years poſterior to Lycurgus, they appear to authorize the ſuppoſition that that legiſlator divided all the citizens into ſix moræ. But here a great difficulty occurs. Before the ſix leaders of the moræ, the inſcriptions place the ſix leaders of the lochi. Thus not only the former, that is to ſay the leaders

(*t*) Thucyd. lib. c, cap. 66.
(*u*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4, p. 518; lib. 7, p. 636.
(*x*) Thucyd. ibid. cap. 68.
(*y*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395.

of the moræ, were ſubordinate to thoſe of the lochi; but the moræ and lochi were equal in number, which was not the caſe in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon.

2dly. The latter hiſtorian obſerves that Lycurgus divided the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry into ſix moræ (z). This paſſage is conformable to the preceding inſcriptions.

Xenophon likewiſe tells us that king Cleombrotus was ſent into Phocis with four moræ (a). If there were but five, one only remained at Lacedæmon. Some time after the battle of Leuctra was fought, the troops of Cleombrotus were defeated, and Xenophon remarks that new levies were made, and that they were eſpecially drawn from the two moræ which ſtill remained at Sparta (b). There were then ſix in all.

Let us now conſider the reaſons which may incline us to ſuppoſe there were only five.

1ſt. Ariſtotle, as cited by Harpocration, reckoned only five, if we may confide in the edition of Mauſſac, which has the word Πέντε (c). It is true this word is not found in the edition of Gronovius, and that, in ſome manuſcripts, its place is ſupplied by a numeral letter which ſignifies ſix (d). But this letter has ſo much reſemblance to that which ſtands for the number five, that one may eaſily have been miſtaken for the other; and two paſſages in Heſychius prove that ſome copyiſts of Harpocration muſt have made this miſtake. In the firſt it is ſaid that the lochos was called mora among the Lacedæmonians (e), and in the ſecond that, according to Ariſtotle, the Lacedæmonians

(z) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
(a) Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 579.
(b) Id. ibid. p. 597.
(c) Harpocr. in Μόρων.
(d) Mauſſac. ibid. Meurſ. Lect. Attic. lib. 1, cap. 16.
(e) Heſych. in Μόρα.

had five lochi (*f*), and in this paſſage the word is written at length, Πέντε. Therefore, according to Heſychius, Ariſtotle admitted only five more.

2dly. Diodorus Siculus (*g*) relates that Ageſilaus was at the head of eighteen thouſand men, of which *the* five moræ, or, without the article, five moræ of Lacedæmon, made a part. It remains to enquire whether, in this paſſage, the article ought to be admitted or ſuppreſſed. Rhodomannus, in his edition, gives the paſſage thus: ὧν ἦσαν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι, or Λακεδαιμονίων, Πέντε μοῖραι. M. Bejot, at my requeſt, did me the favour to conſult the manuſcripts in the king of France's library. Of twelve which are there, five only contain the paſſage in queſtion, and have the article οἱ with the word Lacedæmonians, either in the nominative or genitive. They agree therefore with the edition of Rhodomannus, and by a ſlight, but indiſpenſable alteration, give us the reading which has been propoſed by Meurſius: αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων Πέντε μοῖραι. The paſſage thus reſtored perfectly agrees with that of Ariſtotle.

3dly. I have ſaid, in the text of my work, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes. It is natural therefore to ſuppoſe they were enrolled in the ſame number of military corps, which received their denomination from theſe tribes. In fact, Herodotus expreſsly ſays that, at the battle of Platæa, there was a body of the Pitanatæ (*h*), and we have ſeen that the Pitanatæ were one of the tribes of Lacedæmon.

Yet as all theſe reaſons amount only to probability, and the teſtimony of Xenophon is poſitive, we may ſay with Meurſius (*i*), that the Greek hiſtorian has enumerated

(*f*) Heſych. in Λόχοι.
(*g*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
(*h*) Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 53.
(*i*) Meurſ. Lect. Att. lib. 1, cap. 16.

among the moræ the corps of Sciritæ, ſo named from Sciritis, a ſmall diſtrict ſituated on the confines of Arcadia and Laconia (*k*), which was long ſubject to the Spartans, but afterward taken from them by Epaminondas, who united it to Arcadia. Hence it is that, of the writers poſterior to that time, ſome have conſidered the Sciritæ as a part of the Lacedæmonian ſoldiery (*l*), and others as a body of Arcadian troops (*m*).

While the Sciritæ were ſubject to the Spartans, they followed them in almoſt all their expeditions, ſometimes to the number of ſix hundred (*n*). In a battle they were ſtationed in the left wing, and were not mixed with the other moræ (*o*). Sometimes they were kept in reſerve, ſucceſſively to ſupport the diviſions which began to give way (*p*). During the night they guarded the camp, and their vigilance prevented the ſoldiers from ſtraggling from the army. This duty was aſſigned them by Lycurgus himſelf (*q*). The corps of the Sciritæ then exiſted in the time of that legiſlator, who inſtituted ſix bodies of troops; five moræ properly ſo called, in which the Spartans were enrolled, and the cohort of the Sciritæ, which, not being compoſed of Spartans, differed eſſentially from the proper moræ, but which nevertheleſs might bear the ſame name, ſince it made a part of the military conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus.

If it be true that the Sciritæ fought on horſeback, as Xenophon gives us to underſtand (*r*), we need no longer

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(*k*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 607.
(*l*) Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 5, cap. 67.
(*m*) Heſych. in Σκιρίτ.
(*n*) Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 68.
(*o*) Id. ibid. cap. 67.
(*p*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
(*q*) Xenoph de Rep. Laced. p. 687.
(*r*) Id. de Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 4, p. 91.

be ſurpriſed at the aſſertion of the hiſtorian, that Lycurgus inſtituted ſix moræ for the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry (*s*). We ſhall then ſay that there were five moræ of Spartan oplitæ, and a ſixth compoſed of the cavalry called Sciritæ.

From the preceding obſervations it is manifeſt that if ſome ancient authors appear to have confounded the mora with the lochos, this may have happened from inadvertence, or an improper uſe of words, by taking the part for the whole. The learned Meurſius, who ſuppoſes there was no diſtinction between theſe two bodies, can produce only feeble teſtimonies in favour of his opinion, which is contradicted by inconteſtable facts. If, as he himſelf allows, there were but five moræ, there could have been but five lochi; yet we have ſeen that king Agis had ſeven lochi in his army (*t*); to which may be added, that, on another occaſion, king Archidamus was at the head of ſeven lochi (*u*).

If each mora took the name of its tribe, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the four lochi had diſtinct names; and we know from Heſychius that the Lacedæmonians gave to one of their lochi the name of *edolos* (*x*). Hence we may be allowed to conjecture that the Crotani, who, according to Pauſanias (*y*), made a part of the Pitanatæ, were no other than one of the lochi which compoſed the mora of that tribe. Hence alſo, perhaps, the criticiſm of Thucydides on Herodotus, who having ſaid that, at the battle of Platæa, Amompharetus commanded the lochos of the Pitanatæ (*z*), Thucydides obſerves that there never was at

(*s*) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
(*t*) Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 68.
(*u*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7, p. 636.
(*x*) Heſych. in Ἔδωλ.
(*y*) Pauſan. lib. 3, cap. 14, p. 240.
(*z*) Heredot. lib. 9, cap. 53.

Lacedæmon a body of troops ſo named (*a*); probably becauſe Herodotus ſhould have ſaid the mora, and not the lochos of the Pitanatæ.

How many men did each mora contain? Five hundred, according to Ephorus (*b*) and Didorus Siculus (*c*); ſeven hundred, according to Callifthenes; nine hundred, according to Polybius (*d*); and three hundred, five hundred, and ſeven hundred, according to others (*e*).

It appears to me that theſe different opinions ought to be attributed to the changes which the mora underwent at different periods, and the leſs or greater number of troops which circumſtances induced the Lacedæmonians to bring into the field. All the Spartans were enrolled in one of the moræ. When an expedition was to be undertaken, the ephori cauſed a herald to proclaim that the citizens from the age of puberty, that is from the age of twenty years, to another age ſpecified, ſhould preſent themſelves to ſerve (*f*). Of this we have a remarkable example. At the battle of Leuctra, the king Cleombrotus had four moræ, commanded by the ſame number of polemarchs, and compoſed of citizens aged from twenty to thirty-five years (*g*). After the loſs of the battle, the ephori ordered new levies, when all thoſe of the ſame moræ who were aged from thirty-five to forty years were appointed to take the field; as alſo all thoſe between the ages of twenty and forty years, who belonged to the two moræ which had remained at Lacedæmon (*h*). It hence follows that thoſe

(*a*) Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 20.
(*b*) Plut. in Pelopid. t. i. p. 286.
(*c*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
(*d*) Plut. ibid.
(*e*) Etymol. Magn. in Μοῖρ. Ulpian. in Demoſth. Meurſ. Lect. Attic. lib. 1, cap. 16.
(*f*) Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
(*g*) Id. Hiſt. Græc. p. 579.
(*h*) Id. ibid. p. 597.

portions of moræ which made the campaign, were often only detachments, more or leſs numerous, of the whole body.

We neither have the work of Ephorus which aſſigned to the mora five hundred men, nor that of Calliſthenes which gave to it ſeven hundred, nor the paſſage of Polybius in which it was increaſed to nine hundred; but we may venture to affirm that all theſe numbers only related to particular caſes, and that Diodorus Siculus has not explained himſelf with ſufficient exactneſs when he abſolutely ſays that each mora conſiſted of five hundred men (*i*).

We are not better informed of the number of ſoldiers contained in the ſubdiviſions of the mora. Thucydides obſerves (*k*) that, from the care which the Lacedæmonians took to conceal their operations, it was not known what number of troops they had at the firſt battle of Mantinea, but that a conjecture might be formed from the following calculation. King Agis was at the head of ſeven lochi; each lochos contained four pentecoſtyes, each pentecoſtys four enomotiæ, and each enomotia was drawn up with four men in front, and, in general, eight deep.

From this paſſage the ſcholiaſt concludes that on this occaſion the enomotia contained 32 men, the pentecoſtys 128, and the lochos 512. But if the lochos had always been compoſed in the ſame manner, the hiſtorian would, no doubt, have contented himſelf with ſaying the Lacedæmonians had ſeven lochi, without having recourſe to this mode of calculation.

The enomotiæ likewiſe did not invariably conſiſt of the ſame number of men. At the battle I have juſt mentioned

(*i*) Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 350.
(*k*) Thucyd. lib. 5, cap. 68.

they in general contained thirty-two men each, at that of Leuctra they conſiſted of thirty-ſix, and Suidas reduces them to twenty-five (*l*).

CHAP. LI. PAGE 250.

On the Sums of Money brought into Lacedæmon by Lyſander.

DIODORUS SICULUS (*m*) relates that, after the taking of Seſtus, a city of the Helleſpont, Lyſander cauſed to be conveyed to Lacedæmon, by Gylippus, a large quantity of ſpoils, and a ſum of 1500 talents, or 8,100,000 livres (337,500l. ſterling). After the taking of Athens, Lyſander, on his return to Lacedæmon, remitted to the magiſtrates, beſides other valuable things, 480 talents which remained in his hands of the money furniſhed by the younger Cyrus (*n*). If theſe ſums are to be conſidered as diſtinct, it will follow that Lyſander brought home from his expedition, in ready money, 1980 talents, that is to ſay, 10,692,000 livres (445,500l. ſterling).

CHAP. LII. PAGE 271.

On the ceaſing of Human Sacrifices.

I HAVE ſaid that human ſacrifices were aboliſhed in Arcadia in the fourth century before Chriſt. But a paſ-

(*l*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6, p. 596. Suid. in Ἔφοροι.
(*m*) Lib. 13, p. 225.
(*n*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2, p. 462.

ſage

ſage may be objected to me from Pauſanias, who lived ſix hundred years after. He in fact ſays that theſe ſacrifices ſtill ſubſiſted in Arcadia and at Carthage (*o*). This author relates in his work many particulars that he had borrowed from a treatiſe which we no longer have, and which was written by Theophraſtus. But as he tells us (*p*) that he added ſeveral things to thoſe he quoted from Theophraſtus, we know not to which of theſe two authors we ought to attribute the paſſage under conſideration, which is in part contradicted by another paſſage in Porphyry, who obſerves (*q*), that Iphicrates aboliſhed human ſacrifices at Carthage. It is of little importance to enquire whether, inſtead of Iphicrates, we ought not to read Gelon; the contradiction is not leſs evident. The ſilence of other authors has appeared to me of great weight in this queſtion. Would Pauſanias, eſpecially, who enters into the moſt minute details reſpecting religious ceremonies, have omitted a fact of ſuch importance? And how was it poſſible he ſhould have forgotten it, when, ſpeaking of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, he ſays that he was changed into a wolf for having ſacrificed an infant (*r*). Plato indeed ſays (*s*) that theſe ſacrifices ſtill ſubſiſted in ſome nations, but he does not ſay that thoſe nations were Greeks.

(*o*) Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2, § 27. p. 150.
(*p*) Id. ibid. § 32, p. 162.
(*q*) Id. ibid. § 36, p. 202.
(*r*) Pauſan. lib. 8, cap. 2, p. 600.
(*s*) Plat. de Leg lib. 6, t. ii. p. 782.

CHAP. LVI. PAGE 376.

On the Import and Export Duties at Athens.

DURING the Peloponneſian war, theſe duties were farmed at thirty-ſix talents, or 194,400 livres (8,100l.) (*t*). If we add to this the profit of the farmers, we may eſtimate the whole ſum at 200,000 livres (8,333l.), and thence conclude that the foreign trade of the Athenians amounted annually to about ten millions of livres (416,666l.)

SAME CHAP. PAGE. 378.

On the Contributions of the Allies.

THE four hundred and ſixty talents which were drawn annually from the ſtates leagued againſt the Perſians, and which the Athenians depoſited in the citadel, at firſt amounted to the ſum of ten thouſand talents*, according to Iſocrates (*u*); or nine thouſand ſeven hundred†, according to Thucydides (*x*). Pericles, during his adminiſtration, had laid up eight thouſand (*y*); but having expended three thouſand ſeven hundred, either in the embelliſhment of the city or the firſt expences of the ſiege of Potidæa, the

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(*t*) Andocid. de Myſt. p. 17.
* 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000l.).
(*u*) Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 395.
† 52,380,000 livres (2,182,5col.).
(*x*) Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
(*y*) Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 395.

nine thouſand ſeven hundred were reduced to ſix thouſand* at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war (z).

This war was ſuſpended by a truce which the Athenians entered into with Lacedæmon. The contributions which they had then received amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred talents; and, during the ſeven years which the truce laſted, they placed ſeven thouſand talents† in the public treaſury (a).

CHAP. LVII. PAGE 392.

On the Definition of Man.

PORPHYRY, in his introduction to the doctrine of the Peripatetics, defines man a rational and mortal animal (b). I have not found this definition in the works which ſtill remain of Ariſtotle. Perhaps he had uſed it in ſome of thoſe that are loſt, or perhaps he never uſed it at all. He often gives another which Plato and other philoſophers had adopted, and which is only an enumeration of ſome of the external qualities of man (c). Yet, as a real difference was then admitted between rational and irrational animals (d), it may be aſked why the faculty of reaſoning was not generally choſen for the ſpecific difference of man. I will endeavour to ſolve this difficulty.

* 32,400,000 livres (1,350,000l.).
(z) Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 305.
† 37,800,000 livres (1,575,000l.)
(a) Andocid de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.
(b) Porphyr. Iſagog. in Oper. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 7.
(c) Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 6, cap. 3, p. 244; cap. 4, p. 245. Id. Metaph. lib. 7. cap. 12, t. ii. p. 920.
(d) Id. de Anim. lib. 3, cap. 11. t. i. p. 659.

The word which the Greeks made uſe of to denote an animal, ſignifies a living being (*e*): a rational animal, then, is a living being endowed with underſtanding and reaſon. This definition agrees to man, but ſtill more eminently to the Divinity; and this conſideration induced the Pythagoreans to place God and man among the rational animals, that is to ſay, among rational living beings (*f*). It was neceſſary therefore to ſeek a new difference, which might ſeparate man from the Supreme Being, and likewiſe from all celeſtial intelligences.

As every definition ought to give a clear idea of the thing defined, and as the nature of ſpirits is not ſufficiently known, the philoſophers who wiſhed to claſs man in the ſcale of beings, fixed their attention in preference on his exterior qualities. They ſaid that man is an *animal*, which diſtinguiſhed him from all inanimate bodies; and they ſucceſſively added the words *terreſtrial*, to diſtinguiſh him from the animals which live in the air or the water; *two-footed*, to ſeparate him from quadrupeds, reptiles &c.; and *featherleſs*, that he might not be confounded with birds. And when Diogenes, by a well-known pleaſantry, had ſhewn that this definition would equally apply to a cock, or any other bird, deprived of its feathers, a new character was added, taken from the form of the nails (*g*). In the time of Porphyry, to obviate a part of the inconveniences of which I have ſpoken, man was defined a rational and mortal animal (*h*). The word *mortal* we have ſince taken away; becauſe, according to the idea which we annex to the word *animal*, every animal is mortal.

(*e*) Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 77.
(*f*) Ariſtot. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 6, p. 23.
(*g*) Diogen. Laert. lib. 6, § 40.
(*h*) Porphyr. Iſagog. in Oper. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 7.

CHAP. LVIII. PAGE 441.

On an Expreſſion of the Orator Demades.

DEMADES, a man of great wit, and one of the principal orators in Athens, lived in the time of Demoſthenes. A number of happy and forcible repartees are attributed to him (*i*); but among his pleaſantries there are ſome which we ſhould charge with affectation. Such is the following:—As the Athenians roſe at the crowing of the cock, Demades called the cryer who ſummoned them to the aſſembly, *the public cock of Athens* (*k*). If the Athenians were not diſguſted at this metaphor, it is probable that they would not have diſapproved of that of *ſolar regiſter**, ventured by La Motte to ſignify a ſun-dial (*l*).

(*i*) Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 299.
(*k*) Athen. lib. 3, cap. 21. p. 99.
* *Greffier ſolaire.*
(*l*) Liv. 3, fab. 2.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.